

Inter-America

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE



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DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
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FEBRUARY, 1919

NUMBER 3

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE purpose of INTER-AMERICA is to contribute to the establishment of a community of ideas between all the peoples of America by aiding to overcome the barrier of language, which hitherto has kept them apart. It is issued alternately, one month in Spanish, made up of diversified articles translated from the periodical literature of the United States, and the next month in English, composed of similar articles translated from the periodical literature of the American countries of Spanish or Portuguese speech.

INTER-AMERICA thus serves as a vehicle for the international dissemination of articles already circulated in the several countries. It therefore does not publish original articles, nor make editorial comment. It merely translates what has been previously published, without approving or censuring, in order that the reading public of all the American countries may have access to ideas current in each of them.

INTER-AMERICA is established at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, one of whose objects is to cultivate friendly feelings between the inhabitants of different countries, and to increase the knowledge and understanding of each other by the several nations.

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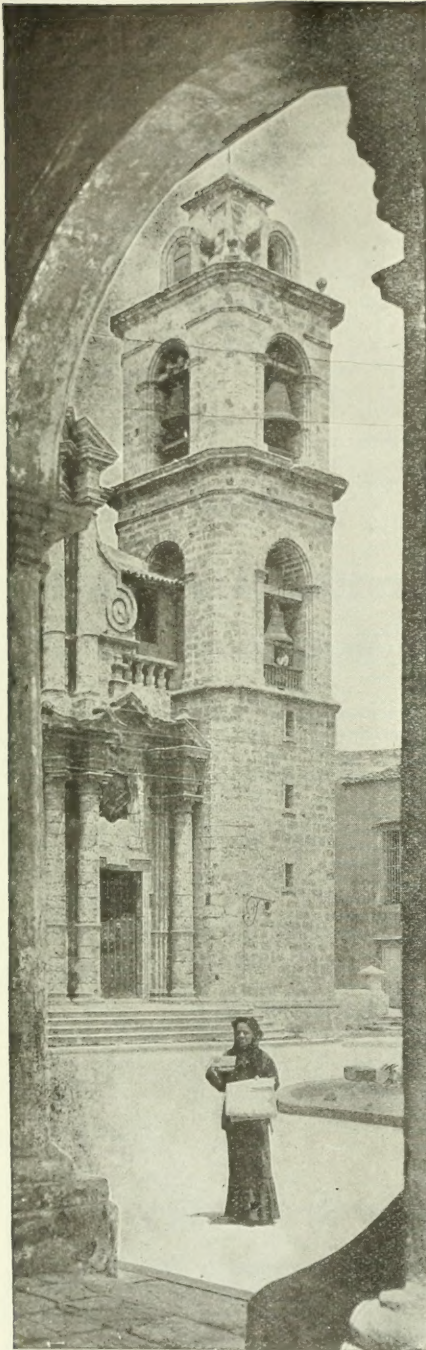
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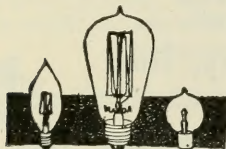
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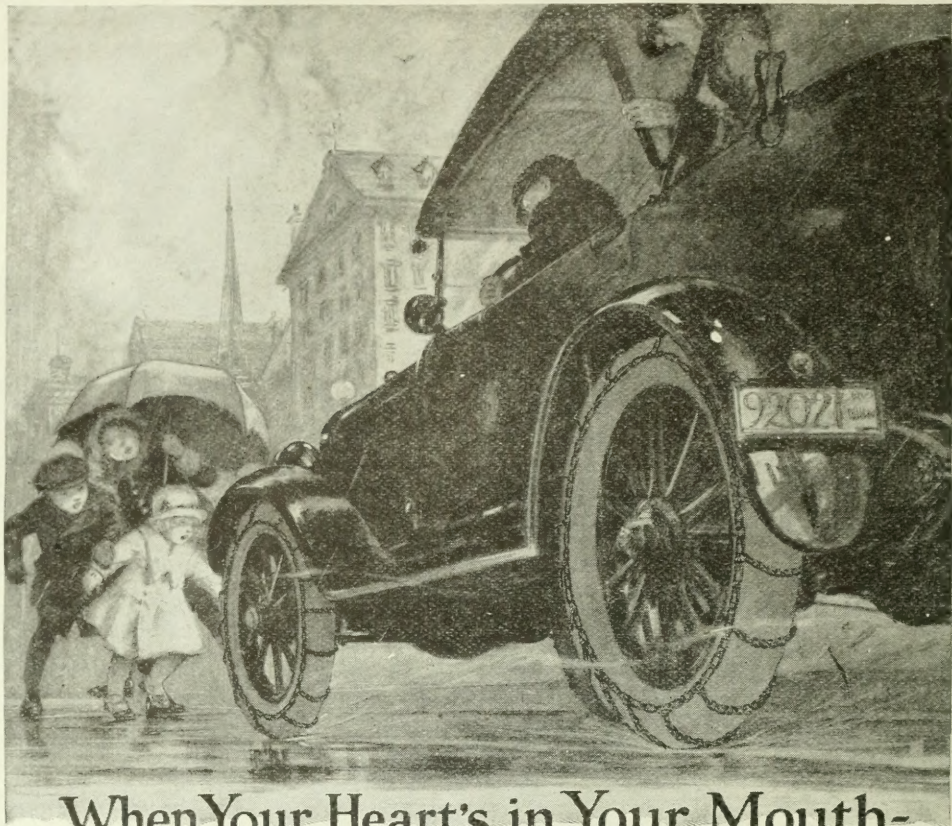
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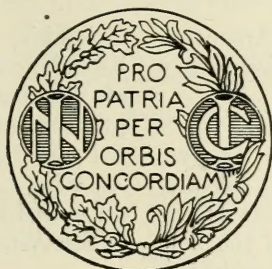
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BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

REGARDING THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES THAT APPEAR IN THIS NUMBER

JUAN E. GUASTAVINO is an Argentine lawyer and the author of *Kaiserismo y democracia*, 1915.

RUY BARBOSA, the Brazilian lawyer, statesman, diplomat and man of letters, was born in Bahia, in 1849; he was one of the founders of the republic and the first minister of finance under the republican regimen; he was the Brazilian ambassador in the Hague conference of 1907 and during the celebration of the Argentine centenary, in July, 1916; for many years he has been a member of the federal senate; he is president of the Academia Brasileira; among his writings may be mentioned *O Papa e o concilio*; *Cartas de Inglaterra*; *Habeas Corpus*.

JULIO E. RUEDA is an Ecuadorian; he is the proprietor of *La Revista Comercial y de Intereses Económicos*, the secretary of the Cámara de Comercio of Quito and a member of several labor organizations.

ENRIQUE J. ARCE was born in the city of Panamá; he was educated in Bogotá,

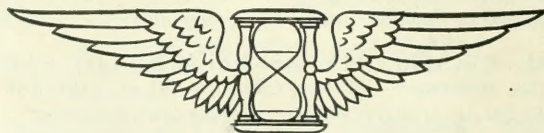
Colombia, where he received his degree of bachelor of philosophy and letters and of veterinary medicine; at present he is professor of history in the Instituto Nacional de Panamá; he wrote the article *Amerigo Vespucci and the Name America*, published in the August, 1918, number of INTER-AMERICA.

G. JIMÉNEZ HERRERA was born in the republic of Colombia; during the last eight years he has resided at Valverde in the Dominican republic; he is the director and editor of *La Pluma*, published in Valverde.

HÉCTOR DÍAZ LEGUIZAMÓN is an Argentine lawyer and a member of the bar of Buenos Aires.

JOSÉ SIXTO DE SOLA was a Cuban man of letters; he died in 1916; he was the editor of the magazine *Cuba Contemporánea*, of Habana.

Data regarding the other authors whose articles appear in this number have not been obtainable.



WILSON

BY

JUAN E. GUASTAVINO

A study of the career and character of the president of the United States, in which the author, by appeal to the president's successive utterances and acts, finds a steady consistency and development in his policy; he considers him a new embodiment of Washington, and, in particular, of Lincoln; and he congratulates the world upon the fact that such a one should have been at the head of the United States during these critical years.—THE EDITOR.

HE IS the loftiest summit in the scenery of this dramatic hour of the world.

He is so in a singular and apparently contradictory manner, in view of the sanguinary character of the conflict.

When the genius of force submits the final duel to the arbitrament of battles, the heroes of the blood-stained field and the leaders—monarchical or republican—directly engaged in it are those who acquire fame and draw upon themselves the interrogation of the future and the admiration of their contemporaries.

This was, until yesterday, the historical law of all the upheavals that sought in war the supreme reason of force.

According to this law, the figure to-day capable of rising unique and glorious in the press of the most brutal and stupendous military assault known to time is the hero who, upon the field of battle, gallantly sits, an intellectual genius, opposed to the genius of brute force.

This, however, is not the morality in which we share. There is being elaborated before our vision an historical rectification which will lay for future ages the social foundations that were wanting to our civilization.

Wilson, the modest American president, is the vigorous and worthy exponent of this new era of the world.

Such is the meaning of his name. Such is his destiny. This is the secret of the universality of the suffrages unexpectedly centered upon his person by the sympathy of all the peoples that aspire to the continuous dignification of the species.

Lack of comprehension or a failure to

grasp the historic moment has been the undoing of notable personages. The greatness of Wilson lies in his having comprehended it, and having made his will and his heart the solid crucible whence should issue the pottery of future manufacture.

Therefore we have seen him reach the summit of the drama without tragic efforts or sudden bounds, and with the serenity of some common phenomenon of the physical order, just as the sun ascends the horizon at each dawn, in accomplishment of its predestined round.

One glance of serene honesty sufficed him to fill the world with admiration, but that look is, among all the looks that have ennobled the terrible catastrophe, the trait of the most grandiose significance that coming generations will be able to gather from the range of the political philosophy of this struggle.

All tragic hours, those that, like the present moment, suddenly break the ordinary course of life, have had their man. On these terms history personifies responsibility for the drama, thus making possible the moral sanction that discerns the oil of virtue or the hemlock of posthumous contempt. All of them, however, with very rare exceptions, were factors personally interested in the cause, and slaves of glory, that energetic stimulus of genius which seems to be its spontaneous deformity.

None of these passions marred the memorable hour of the American president.

The conscience of a sincere republican—absolute mistress of the duty of her exalted charge, free of theatrical trappings and of all eagerness for noisy glory, severe by a long exercise of the law, like that of a Roman praetor—is the moral investiture

with which we behold him descend from the height of the capitol at Washington "to the struggle on which hangs the destiny of the freedom of the world."

This was the seamless toga, this the indestructible armor, which was lacking to the colossal conflagration provoked by the last of the modern despots, and therefore President Wilson represents the generous phase of the drama, if, in the meaning of the word, however ample it be, can be contained the serene grandeur of soul, the disinterestedness, dignity, love of justice, humanity and very clear comprehension of destiny, moral value and supreme modesty that characterize him.

Wilson is thus the worthy incarnation of the American destiny.

The antecedents of this man and his vision of that destiny form a page of the most fruitful teachings that could be opened to the contemplation of the true democrats of our land.

By the fateful progress of the opposite principles that have continued to develop in the political life of Europe, over against that of the "New World," there must arrive an hour in which the education and ideals of these two human masses would come face to face in practice.

The Renaissance drew forth in the arms of Latinity, from its narrow circle in the Mediterranean, the ancient Greco-Roman civilization, which, beginning with the discovery of our continent, began to broaden the horizons of life, almost parallel with the awakening of the Saxon branch severed from northern Europe, which found in the insular land a field propitious for its enterprising and fertile spirit.

There, in feudalistic Europe—the indirect usufructuary of the Renaissance—remained, as the legitimate owners of the hoary mediaeval basin, those who, by their race, their common warlike spirit, their education and their traditions, were the natural lords of the soil.

Upon the fusion of these peoples, by the heat of ethnic and social affinities, into the unity of a powerful empire, as was foreseen by their apostles and effected by William II, they reached out across the Atlantic, above the liberal current constituted by

the immense majority of the peoples, in the effort to impose by force an anachronistic civilization upon this part of the world, and the clash of the two masses would be an occurrence certain and fatally inevitable.

Wilson had the clearest vision possible of the clash, long before it became imminent, and since then he has exhibited, with a strange mastery of his own temperament and that of his people, the notable characteristics of a modern statesman that have drawn upon him the gaze of all men.

We believed we discerned this vision in him from the first months of the war, when, in a modest book,¹ we made comment, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the catastrophe, upon the attitude, according to us gravely significant, of the president of the United States.

He performed three acts, almost simultaneously, at the beginning of the war, when no one foresaw that it might spread to the United States: the reply to the note of William II, September 4, 1914, in which the latter excused his attack upon Belgium and the savagery of his troops in Louvain and the other towns of the invaded country; his proclamation to the people of the Union, calling upon them for serenity and confidence in themselves; and the declaration at the time of his visit to the squadron lying in the harbor of New York.

We said then, in pointing to Wilson as the greatest obstacle that would be encountered by the Teutonic despotism:

William II does not suspect that in the republic of the United States he will find the most serious obstacle opposed to the military attack aimed at France, England and Russia. William is not acquainted with the psychology of the new continent.

Let us look at the serene ascent of the political principles of Wilson by which this prediction culminated in the present reality. He said textually to William II:

The one who has done wrong *must now learn the consequences of it, and the responsibility will fall upon the guilty.*

In the performance of the second act, he said:

We have no reason to be alarmed, we count

¹*Kaiserismo y democracia*, 1915.

upon resources of our own to sustain us, and our enviable position upon the globe permits us to contemplate the struggle without danger, but we must bear in mind that *some act of imprudence might cause us to become the victim of our own temerity.*

It is known that neither then nor even two years afterward was the nation prepared in a military sense for war.

In respect of the third act, we reflected our impression thus:

It is related that when Admiral Brown's officers surprised him in his familiar attitude of gazing at the mizzen-mast pennant from his post in the stern, stretched lazily upon his back, he came out of his distraction by saying to them: "It pleases me to follow fair winds from the tip of the mizzen-mast."

President Wilson has just put the hope of the fair winds of the world's liberty on the tip of the mizzen-mast of the future republican armada.

Reviewing the squadron on the eighth of last March in the harbor of New York, he spoke these words, under the shadow of the gigantic statue of liberty that holds aloft its symbolic torch:

I am thoroughly convinced that it is an opinion profoundly rooted in the soul of this people that the North American nation most worthily manifests its power by means of a beautiful squadron, and that the fleet ought to express the character of the United States . . . outside of it, yonder, where some time it may be desirable that we give to the other nations a clear idea of the sentiments of which America has made herself the champion.

The squadron of the United States constitutes an entity to which is particularly committed the ideal of America.

When we wrote this, in August, 1915, we did not suspect that it would be punctually and clearly confirmed by the revelations which the American writer Howden Smith has just made regarding these clairvoyances of the wise president. In the study of the figure of Colonel House, the confidant of Wilson, traced, as is well known, with the intimate knowledge of the affairs of both personages, he makes this digression:

For none of his policies has he been so bitterly attacked as for his attitude toward México and his subsequent stand in relation to the European war. At any time he could have silenced his critics off-hand by the simple revelation that

so early as the fall of 1913, before anybody else in the world, outside of a handful of generals and politicians in Germany and Austria-Hungary and the late Lord Roberts and a few other British thinkers—he and Colonel House, between them, surveyed the European situation, and perceived that the two opposite groups of powers were drifting toward the war which had been dreaded for a generation.²

The serene firmness and the discernment contained in all these expressions stamped with grandeur the figure of President Wilson when the logical force of events thrust him into the war.

Then his stature as a thinker and patriot rose to the height of his people's destinies and it disclosed to men who took thought of their dignity the most opportune, manly and beautiful lessons which, without any doubt, history will hasten to gather and preserve.

The emperor of Germany announced one day to the United States that on February 1, 1917, he would close to all the nations at war with her, as well as to neutrals, the transit of the seas in the places indicated by him, with the definite threat that a vessel under any flag that should violate this order would be sunk; and at nine o'clock on the night of April 2 of the same year, Wilson presented himself before the assembled congress gathered as a whole, to announce by this means to the people of the United States that so unheard of an outrage upon the dignity and rights of the nation fixed the hour when he must accept the challenge of despotism, and declare war upon the German empire.

It was an impressive scene—this of that night in which President Wilson, grave and serene, as the press described him, occupied the place that had been assigned him in order thence to read the terrible proclamation.

He was about to plunge into war a people of a hundred and thirty million³ souls, in the enjoyment of complete international peace and a prosperity singularly increased

²The Real Colonel House, by Arthur D. Howden Smith, page 150.

³We have given the figures as they appear in the original article.—THE EDITOR.

under shelter of its remoteness from the European conflict. Let us hear the justifications of the solemn step. He said:

Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions, it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs: they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the congress declare the recent course of the imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and the people of the United States.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Behold a beautiful page in the life of a democrat!

It is sufficient to immortalize a man.

Twenty centuries of republican aspirations, from the tables of Lycurgus to the constitutions of to-day, can be seen in it, sure of finding uncontaminated the waters of the remote torrent, because the fountain whence it sprang is the one placed by the Creator in the heart of all men truly honorable and great: the sentiment of justice.

"A constitutional duty," says Wilson, obliges him to engage in a struggle with "the despotic autocracy of the German empire," that "natural enemy of liberty," it being necessary to employ against it "all the forces of the nation in order to *repress* its pretensions and *annul* its power," and he counsels the congress and the people to do without hesitation what he proceeds to do, in spite of the fact that "it is a fearful thing to lead this peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars," but "the right is more precious than peace."

It will not be easy to forget this noble exclamation of the American statesman!

Peace, through the spontaneous convergence of reciprocal interests; peace as a result of justice, is certainly so beautiful and ineffable that it has been called the daughter of heaven.

Peace, however, with an armor of iron, peace bought at the price of terror or submission, the peace of despots and perverts, is a miserable slave, a repulsive prostitute.

For Wilson therefore the first constitutional obligation of the executive of a free nation like the United States does not consist in the preservation of peace at any price, but in the strict defense, with all the sacrifices possible, however great they might be, "*of the rights on which are based the principles that gave birth to the nation.*"

Who does not observe in these traits the transcript of the profoundly nationalistic education of the American leader?

None other was the vision of Washington as he bade farewell to public life in his famous "political testament," delivered to the custody of the patriotism of his fellow-citizens "with the help of the Creator in all things," as also in no other-wise was that of the "immortal Lincoln"

as Wilson himself recalls,⁴ when he had to face the gravest hour that could be encountered by the nation, after her struggle for independence.

Is it not an historical revelation of the fact that there exists a great moral principle, genuinely American—the phenomenon that, to-day, after the passage, from the time of Lincoln, of more than half a century of stirring and varied life, like that of the people of the United States, abounding in men and things—that the noble and original figure of the rail-splitter of Illinois should be reproduced with identical characteristics in the person of the modest New Jersey lawyer of yesterday?

Wilson has set his inspiration and his energy as a statesman in motion along the historic line that served Lincoln as a means of preserving the Union and perhaps the independence of the Union, compromised by the great war of secession. At this hour Lincoln and Wilson stretch hands across the starry banners that float above the fields of France. "We fight not for the present; we fight *for what is to come*," said the sublime backwoodsman, when the dash of the first southern storm began to shake the soil beneath his feet; "I am nothing, but the truth is everything. I know there is a God, the enemy of injustice and of slavery; I foresaw the frightful storm, and I do not conceal from myself that the hand of the Lord is in it. With his help, I shall perform the mission that he confides to me; perhaps it will not be given to me to see the end, and it may be that another will have to complete my work, *but success will crown it*, and then I shall be vindicated by men, and they will see that they have not read their Bible well."⁵

Lincoln saw on the constituent basis of the American nation a deeply humanistic seal. According to him, the characteristic of the republic's destiny as a moral end was the dignifying of humanity, and, consequently, the field of action indicated by the American Declaration of Independence

was that of all the earth, while there should be in it a people to redeem from the hands of despotism.

"The declaration of our good fathers," he said, "is the majestic interpretation of the *universal economy*."

The valiant application of these principles was the banner under which he entered the war of secession, "certain that by it the unity of the nation would never be endangered."

Let us hear how he spoke in those days: "This," the universality of American morality, "was the lofty, wise and noble conception of the Creator's justice toward his creatures; yes, gentlemen, for the whole human family. They were not content with the single race of the living, but they went further and included *the most remote posterity*. They lighted a torch *that was to guide their children* and the countless myriads that were to dwell upon the earth in other ages. Destroy not that immortal emblem of humanity: the declaration of American independence."

So beautiful a conception of the anointing of his patriotic cradle has been the psychical trait of all Wilson's existence.

"May I be pardoned," he said to the senate of New Jersey, when it saluted him as the sure savior of the country in its moment of danger, "if, on this occasion, I mention that when I was a very young child, *when I could hardly read*, there fell into my hands a book, which perhaps few of the youngest members of the senate have had occasion to see, that was entitled, *The Life of Washington*, by Weemis. I recall *having thought even then, child as I was*, that something doubtless more than common *must have been possessed by that cause* for which our fathers fought. I now feel most anxious on account of that cause for which they suffered. *That thing somewhat greater than national independence* was something that contained a *great promise for all the peoples of the world in coming ages*; and I should count myself a happy man, indeed, if I should come to be the humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty *to perpetuate the object of that great struggle*."

Tracing the declaration, direct, clear, always simple, even to ingenuousness, which preceded the assumption of the

⁴Woodrow Wilson: *The New Freedom*.

⁵Here, as in several other quotations, the Spanish version has been translated back into English, without referring to the original work.—THE EDITOR.

first presidential term by Wilson, we discover the genesis of his political and moral principles profoundly saturated with the humanism of the martyr-master and founder⁶ of the democratic party, to which he owes his election.

We find in him the same faith that Lincoln possessed in the progressive development of human happiness, thanks to the principles of liberty; his same devotion to the historical tradition of the American Declaration of Independence; his same modesty; his same democratic conviction; his same repulsion for autocracies and despots; his same serene and unyielding probity. . . .

"I was a provincial with strict and old-fashioned ideas," he said to an assembly of his future electors; "and nothing good could I have undertaken for the country, if I had not freed myself from that bondage." Defining, on another occasion, what he understood by American progress, he enunciated these convictions:

I think that we can not destroy old customs and plant without danger the tree of liberty in soil that has not been fertilized. It is impossible to make a *clean tablet* upon which to write a political program. If I did not believe that to be a progressive is to *preserve the essentials of our ancient institutions*, I should cease to be one.

He held that the soil of America, under the shelter of her institutions, is a realm of social redemption for the children of the oppressed peoples, and he uttered inclusively this beautiful phrase:

I believe in human liberty as in the joy of life.

He considered the continent "a new moral enterprise of humanity," in the development of which "man had to reach a new condition until then unknown to him." He continued:

Every vessel that points hither its bow brings us the hopes of many generations of the oppressed. How the hearts of these men palpitate when they discern the coast of America! They come to a country emancipated from kings, without privileged classes, free from what-

ever may oppress men or cause them to suffer. Their ideals of humanity are possible here; they will be one more element in this great society of brothers, who, far from deceiving each other, work together united for the good of all.

He reminds the politicians that only by observing a profound republican virtue will be established the affirmation "of Gladstone who considered the constitution of the United States the best instrument struck off at one time by the human intellect," and that they ought not to forget that "we have fixed on us the gaze of the nations. *The world waits to know what this young country will do with its new forces and its unwearied impulses.*" . . .

Like Lincoln, with the textual words and in an hour of equal strife, he exclaimed:

The world moves on, and it leaves behind those that do not advance with it.

Both thus set forth what no statesman may ever forget, that at the basis of societies there is always a profound logical reason which governs their changes, and that if these changes operate with irresistible force, it is because there is a legitimate aspiration that dominates what is common to the social soul. The gigantic movement of the liberal ideas of the world, which the pride of Teuton despotism has raised against itself, could not find impassable a man like President Wilson, educated in the school where every page reminds him that the constitution of the country over which he presides holds open the portals of his people's destiny toward the utmost of social perfectibility of which man is capable.

Closing the book in which he collected, from the beginning of the war, all his declarations as a candidate for the presidency, he wrote:

We have present the ideal of those men who for the first time pressed the soil of America, those caravans which came in search of an oasis, because the nations they left had forgotten what liberty was—liberty of thought, liberty of religion, liberty of action, liberty of residence.

The moment is about to arrive in which, upon this consecrated soil, will be achieved a *new liberty*, broad, deep, which shall round out the most ample life of man in modern America, putting the government again in his hands,

⁶This statement has been left as it was made by the author, who evidently misunderstood the situation in attributing the founding of the democratic party to Lincoln.—THE EDITOR.

opening all doors to right undertakings, promoting energy and stimulating the general impulses of the heart.

It is an entire movement of emancipation and liberty that arouses a life as sweet and powerful as the wind that propelled the ships of Columbus; a splendid opportunity, a glorious occasion that America will not waste.

The profound conviction of these judgments and the firmness of these declarations of the candidate were to be changed at the hands of the president into the solid palladium upon which would be definitively shattered the sanguinary wave of despotism.

It fell to the lot of Wilson as president to take up the gauntlet of the terrible provocation, and he wrote in the message of the declaration of war what is fundamentally basic in the Union:

The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. . . . We must now accept the gage of battle. . . . If necessary, we must spend the whole force of the nation.

No declaration could be more categorical; no language more clear; no courage more spontaneously displayed in the face of the combat; no faith in victory more firm and more unhesitatingly proclaimed than that contained in this page of Woodrow Wilson's! In it was voiced the thought that was lacking in the face of the Teutonic challenge. It was the American minister of war, Mr. Baker, who, on the second of last August, said, for the first time, what we had not heard from the beginning of the war:

The American people has entered upon an inevitable struggle, and it will not sheathe the sword until it beholds the flag of the world's liberty on the towers of Berlin.

The first of the present month,⁷ Wilson, calling to the flag thirteen million citizens, confirmed the sacred oath:

Germany, it is now plain, was striking at what free men everywhere desire and must have

—the right to determine their own fortunes, to insist upon justice and to oblige governments to act for them and not for the private and selfish interest of a governing class. It is a war to make the nations and peoples of the world secure against every such power as the German autocracy represents. It is a war of emancipation. Not until it is won can men anywhere live free from constant fear or breathe freely while they go about their daily tasks and know that governments are their servants, not their masters. . . .

They are fighting for no selfish advantage for their own nation. They would despise any one who fought for the selfish advantage of any nation. They are giving their lives that homes everywhere, as well as the homes they love in America, may be kept sacred and safe and men everywhere be free as they insist upon being free. They are fighting for the ideals of their own land—great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits.

It is the language of the historical law that is being developed before our eyes. We are attending the funeral of the astounding despotisms.

It is the voice of Washington and of Lincoln that speaks logically at this moment by the mouth of the modest Wilson, who, to hear it, sure, clear and strong, must do no more than put his heart and his ear close to the urn that holds the phoenix-ashes of those loyal friends of men.

It is therefore not providential for us—as some professors of law have said—but a logical fact that the strong fist of free America should be the one destined to shatter the "shining cuirass" with which William II and his congeners threatened to humble the men who had received an education different from that of their people, men who were not accustomed to expect from the more or less pure womb of a woman, expressly determined, the figure of the illustrious boaster or the atavistic pervert who was to cause them to render uniform to the goose-step the rhythm of their life. It is true that if any one has the *best right* to chastise the great criminal, it is noble France, crushed, bleeding and long mocked by him; but France has done and is doing what only she is capable of achieving as a human accomplishment, and no one can reasonably demand that

⁷This article was published in the September, 1918, number of *Helios*: the "present month" would therefore be September, and the address quoted was delivered on the second day.—THE EDITOR.

she crown by her effort alone what is materially impossible, against the harsh fact of forces brutally superior to her. In it there is no belittlement of the French people, but, on the contrary, undying glory. The right for which it is fighting, to the deep admiration of the world, is a right that belongs to all the free peoples, and for its requirements it has, back of its terribly drained material forces, the strength of the hundred and thirty million souls of the sister nation of the Union. These are the ones who, along with their *best right to chastise* the affront, carry with them the necessary means to do it.

This was foreseen by Wilson from the first hours of the catastrophe, as is being revealed at the present moment by the already mentioned Mr. Howden Smith, and, as was also foreseen by the most noble Mr. Whitney Warren, in one of the most beautiful pages that an American pen has written in homage of the French soul. He said in 1914:

We Americans can not keep away from France. We earnestly desire to reduce German insolence and presumption to impotency; *we desire to disembarass ourselves of their arrogance.* We have no doubt of the final outcome; every day we see it preparing, hastening, and *we follow with passion the events that will lead you to victory.*

You are on the way to recreate legend, that is, to make France something more immortal, because legend is imperishable. You have brought back the marvelous to an epoch and

a country that had denied it, and only the marvelous makes life worth while. France is on the high road to increase the value of her existence. She works for the future and the patrimony of the soul; she is enriching the universal conscience; and her sons, entering into the glory of the past, are preparing new dreams for the men of to-morrow.

This communion of the souls of the Americans and the French was a prediction of the communion of bodies on the field of battle.

At this hour myriads of virile and beautiful young men of North America are laying down their lives on the fields of France for that lofty ideal, "that patrimony of the soul."

Millions of mothers also will gather, with crape upon their hearts, there, far from the tombs of their sons, the last sight of those who were equally the dearest flowers of their souls.

Were it any possible consolation for them to remind them that they are the mothers of the avengers of the most terrible of crimes of *lèse-humanité* and of the heralds of the most undying of glories, we could wish to assuage their sorrows by telling them with the gallant voice of their compatriot: that their sons have entered into the grandeur of the past to prepare new dreams for their brothers of to-morrow.

Wilson, the modest and brave, without fear in responsibility, without doubts as to victory, presides over them in the crusade of this great day of humanity.



BRAZIL IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY

HOW THE NEWS OF THE ARMISTICE WAS PROCLAIMED IN THE NATIONAL SENATE

BY

RUY BARBOSA

When the startling information of the signing of the armistice reached the Brazilian capital, the upper house of the national congress must find its proper expression. There seemed to be but one adequate voice, that of the statesman who had championed the cause of weak nations, of righteousness, of the allies, of the United States, from the beginning. He, although ill and intensely occupied with important international concerns, hastened to the senate and there poured out his thanksgiving, his sense of the enormity of the crime that had invoked the war, of the startling character of the victory and of the complexity of the problems that awaited solution. His address, which follows, awakened great applause and produced a profound impression.—THE EDITOR.

IN SPITE of my heavy responsibilities for the conduct of Brazilian affairs in the international situation that has just reached the culminating point, it was not my desire, it was not my intention, to-day, to occupy the platform of the senate and appear personally before you. The state of my health and my convalescent condition hardly permitted me to avail myself of my former position in this body.

I have spent the entire morning, until eleven o'clock, in writing at considerable length a reply in the name of Brazilian charity to the appeal of American charity, which is now carrying on a campaign, both there and here, under the auspices of the president of the United States, to provide spiritual, moral and social aid and comfort to the soldiers of democracy, whose mission has not yet been concluded upon the battle-fields of Europe, silent to-day under the shadow of peace, but agitated still by the birth of the new problems which have followed the war, and which will not be lighter than those of the war itself as a test of the ability and talents of the great statesmen of the period, of the resources and the powers of the great nations now crowned with the recent victory.

While I was thus engaged, your honorable senator for Matto Grosso, the vice-president of this house, urged me to attend the meeting of to-day.

I obeyed, gentlemen, although I realized that my powers were not adequate for so delicate an occasion at a moment unique

in the history of the world: a moment in which I felt myself too small by far to measure up to the demands of the hour. I preferred to cherish my emotions in my own heart, that I might enjoy them there in all their intensity. Moreover, gentlemen, I am not a good instrument for the music of rejoicings. Mine is the moment of adversity, the arena of struggle, the night of fear.

Since, however, gentlemen, your president, has urged and the senate has imposed this obligation upon me, I come before you, trusting that the force of the electric currents generated to-day in the minds of all by the greatness of present events will supplement the deficiency of my abilities in this difficult hour.

I desire to lift my heart in praise to God for not having permitted me to deceive myself, when, in the conference at Buenos Aires, I counseled our nation, I counseled the other Latin-American republics, I counseled the great republic of the north, I counseled all America, I counseled all the neutral countries of the world, to break this unbearable neutrality between crime and right, between falsehood and truth, between infamy and justice. I desire only to say: "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth among men of good will," whose faith, whose perseverance, whose heroism, took this cause upon their shoulders and bore it to the final victory of this present hour.

However, gentlemen, another consideration moves my heart, now that I am speaking. It is not sufficient, at this moment,

merely to applaud the victory. We must go back and examine our impressions during the forty months of expectation, noting rapidly the steps by which we have arrived at a victory so crowned with palms incomparable.

We have just heard the reading of the conditions of the armistice to which German pride was subjected, and we have been electrified by them as by a victory long awaited. Harder conditions were never imposed upon any conquered nation—not upon Turkey, nor Bulgaria, nor Austria; yet upon no vanquished nation were ever forced conditions more just, more necessary, more inevitable.

These conditions are the conditions of a tribunal, for they are no less than the implacable sentence passed by the civilization of the world upon the barbarism that threatened to engulf it.

Germany has accepted everything, has submitted to everything, has relinquished in a moment her every hope of victory, considered inevitable by all her sons, all her wise men, all her enthusiasts, in every part of the world, in every circle where the influence of Germany has been felt, in every neutral country where German propaganda bred treason against every people, every race, every nationality.

Behold! the invincible one of yesterday, stretched prone upon the ground, rotting, spreading infection in the heart of Europe with the microbe of the disorder and the decay with which she would replace the autocracy of the kaiser.

He himself enjoys to-day in Holland, with a whole skin, the safety of his poltroonery. Does he not at least remember that even Judas found a fig-tree that would serve his purpose after he had betrayed the Christ?

During all these four years, what has the kaiser been doing but attributing these infamies to the God whom until yesterday he daily associated with himself as his ally in these crimes of barbarism against the Christian civilization of the world? Judas had at least the excuse of a demon who, according to the Scriptures, entered into his body and took possession of his spirit in that miserable hour. This other man, however, gave expression to his wickedness

through four long years of frigid callousness, deferred hopes, bloody triumphs, immeasurable cruelties, after preparing through twenty-five years of hypocrisy, during which, as the emperor of Germany, he played before the world the part of a prince of peace.

His plan, his diabolical purpose of substituting force for right in the universal government of man, did not succeed. His plan involved the whole world; it included central Europe and reached out toward the Orient through the Russian territory; and it descended toward the southeast across the Balkans and Turkey, with the purpose of reaching Egypt and preparing a bridge to Persia and the Indies, where his policy looked to the replacement of the civilizing influence of Great Britain by the sterile and oppressive colonization of Germany in all the territories of the world to which she could extend her nefarious power. On the other side, to westward, was Belgium, crushed, devastated, annihilated, ground into the earth; France, stripped of the best of her provinces and of her northern fields; the English channel and the North sea, all the seas of Europe, ready in the hour of victory to bear the conqueror across to that enchanted isle, inviting conquest, there, whence had sprung the human liberty that was to spread through the whole world and multiply among all the other nations, great, free, prosperous like the mother-country of which they were the free children.

The ocean stopped him; America awaited him. His purposes, indeed, reached as far as the prairies of the United States. Toward the south of this continent, Brazilian territory was already surveyed on German maps as the seat of a southern Germany, designed to receive a better race than ours, which should take our place in the occupation of these lands of ours and secure for the crown of Berlin the inheritance of our ancestors, which we have hitherto enjoyed.

These, gentlemen, were the plans of this infernal monster of ambition, launched desperately against the whole world; but he found the first onslaught of his invasion shattered against sacred barriers—the bar-

riers of Belgium, France, England—the bulwarks of Christian civilization, the salvation of the modern world, the guaranty of our liberties, the saviors, not only of our institutions, but of our very national existence, of all that is dear to us, and which would have disappeared instantly, in that moment when, instead of the victory of liberal arms, there might have prevailed, upon the battle ground of Europe, the cohorts of the despot of Potsdam.

This was the struggle—I can not adequately describe it—which we all followed morning after morning, as if we were present in person at the crises of this matchless drama where a cruelty that exceeded the very limits of the satanic fought ferociously against divine loftiness of sacrifice and measureless abnegation.

I have had the happiness, which has ever stayed me, never to have doubted as to the outcome of this struggle during all the vicissitudes we have undergone. Not even for a single moment during those most uncertain crises through which the allied nations battled with the central powers—not even for a single moment had I a doubt as to the ultimate triumph of justice against the German madness.

It was not an instinctive feeling, but a trust that has accompanied me through all my life, a confidence in the victory of the moral agencies, in the unconquerable power of right, in the surpeme destiny of liberty.

When I heard it said, again and again, that right had been overcome, that international law had suffered an irretrievable shipwreck, I found myself always tranquil, seeing ever and ever more clearly the moral victory of this law whose ruin was being announced; because, in proportion as force rose against it, so, also increased in the heart of man the love of those lofty ideals that bind in one the fate of all free peoples.

Laws were violated. International law was swept away. Never before had there been applied such a test. No such mad assault had ever been made upon them. All laws, however, are violable, and all laws have been violated, even such as are divine. Not thereby, however, do they cease to be; and their existence is reaffirmed

each day, always more strongly, against those who in their vain pride seek to blot them out.

Now, when we reach the final issue of this the most unparalleled tragedy that we have witnessed, gentlemen, what is it that fills our hearts with astonishment and awe? What was the condition of Europe before the outbreak of the war, and what is the plight of that continent to-day? There were certain great powers, some buttressed by their liberal institutions, others entrenched in the power of their martial organization and the preponderance of their arms. There were, besides, oppressed races, small states, merged into great autocratic aggregations. There were the peoples of the Balkans, the peoples of central Europe, those of Mesopotamia and those of Asia Minor, leashed together in hateful proximity, kept in place by force, under Turkish despotism, under the cursed tyranny of Austria, under the insolent paternalism of Germany. Now, gentlemen, how many of these races, how many of these peoples, how many of these nationalities, have not sprung up as victors, secure, armed only with their rights, and certain at this moment of an unquestioned victory!

Behold, Poland, partitioned, garrisoned, sundered, crushed, denationalized by Germany!

Behold, the Jugo-Slavs!

Behold, the Czecho-Slovaks!

Behold, all the small peoples of the Balkan peninsula, of Armenia, of Syria, deflowered, exploited, despoiled, infamously outraged, exterminated by a tyranny that grew always worse, always more hateful, more unchristian, more perverse, more irreconcilable with the moral laws that ought to govern the world!

To-day, however, gentlemen of the senate, hour by hour, all these nations lift their heads, reborn, reawakened, reanimated, secure in their rights and confident of their future. Never have four or even six centuries of history seen enough to effect so immeasurable a change as that which the allied armies have wrought absolutely in a few months of the war.

All the questions that have divided Europe now approach a definitive solution,

and the new map will be traced by law, by freedom, by democracy. To each will be given what is just, and there will be left no more crowned autocracies with a vantage ground whence they may again attack human liberty.

What, senators, does all this mean? How, indeed, in these successive instances, have all these empires that boasted everlasting security and omnipotent sovereignty fallen thus to the ground? What of Russia, invincible in her own immense territory, with her hundreds of millions? What of Austria, gathered in one at the expense of so many nationalities absorbed and devoured by her ambition? What of Mohammedan Turkey, allured by an alliance with Christian Germany, and upheld at the cost of Armenia's blood, at the price of the liberty of those feeble Christian peoples that European Christianity left to perish? What of Germany, the unconquerable, the favorite of heaven, the mistress of the world by divine right: that Germany whose invincibility was never doubted, whose integrity was never even open to question?

All these have vanished!

One after another, four great colossal incarnations of tyranny, annihilated by the onset of liberty, have been swept away by the might of right that Providence has made supreme in the world, in order to teach faithless men that in this world there is but one abiding and eternal greatness: that is, the greatness of truth, the greatness of justice, the greatness of divine morality.

What, however, gentlemen, is the great lesson of this war; what of the supreme and final victory of legality and morality over the putrid corpse of force and conquest, a body lacking solidity, permanence, guaranties, because it lacks both righteousness and justice, because it does not strike its roots into the divine soil where human destiny must stay itself in order to be enduring, in order to resist human passions and survive the upheavals of tumultuous days!

Right has won, gentlemen of the senate; it has won, thanks to the great nations, the elect of Providence, on which was laid the sublime mission of being the world's

celestial instruments, of erecting for these divine laws invulnerable defenses, and thanks to which Belgium has reappeared in her heroism; France has risen more glorious than ever; and all the oppressed nations are about to reap the long awaited reward, under the aegis of a league of nations, in the benignant realm of international law.

This Utopia of law, organized by all nations, of law maintained among all nations by political organization, of law sustained among all nations by international polity, of law revindicated among all nations by tribunals whose sentences shall be binding upon every state: this Utopia, so far away, so absurd, so inachievable, that the foolish dreamers affirmed amid the smiles of practical men and experienced statesmen: this Utopia has reached fruition, acclaimed to-day by the most hardheaded statesmen of the world, set up to-day by the most practical and most experienced nations of earth.

Thanks, gentlemen, thanks to those who could check the German inundation in its effort at a long planned general invasion, upon the success of which the despot of Berlin counted absolutely, after waiting with impatience for that hour in which, at the end of twenty-five years, Moltke himself declared Germany to be invincible.

Then it was that William II, surrounded by his friends, who prudently hesitated, pronounced those fatal words that betokened his confidence: "Germany must conquer, because I have my cannon!"

It was his cannon that ravished Belgium to invade France and threaten England. At this point, however, he encountered the negative of those two great nations which the sudden German declaration of war had caught unprepared: France, badly organized, in spite of her great military traditions; England, confident in her insularity and hostile to militarization. Yet French disorganization became organization, with the marvelous quickness of enchantment; and England, opposed to militarism, raised in two years, for the salvation of the continent of Europe and the liberty of the world, no less than five millions of volunteers. At the same time her squadrons, to which we owe the freedom

of the seas, her squadrons assured for us the safety of the ocean, permitting the commerce of peaceful nations to continue freely upon all seas, and securing those who struggled in behalf of liberty against tyranny the means of bringing to eventual triumph their liberal cause.

Blessed be this naval preponderance, without which Germany would have wrought her will and sunk the merchant shipping of the world with all its wealth of goods. Blessed be this naval power, thanks to which our coasts were not attacked, our shores were safe and our cities have not been bombarded, and thanks to which our people have not had to suffer a German invasion, which we lacked the means of resisting. It was, because of this blockade, due to the preponderance of the naval power of England, that she could guard the marvelous and indispensable hastening of the forces of America, whose contribution was to give to the armies of Europe new means of resistance and of defense, and enable them to achieve their ultimate victory.

Thanks to this great alliance between France, England, Italy and the United States; thanks to this union of forces, we have reached at last the glorious hour, and we can participate to-day in this victory we meet to celebrate.

Peace is established: the armistice is its threshold; but we must not forget that Europe will long need still the forces of America. For yet a long while, English forces, those of France and those of Italy will have to guard the ultimate solution of those problems that peace is raising even now.

The empires are overthrown; the territories they held in the Orient and in the center of Europe are in the revolutionary grip of anarchy, from which there is no escape, because it expresses the absolute disorder, the negation of all law, the suppression of all traditions, the abolition of all rights, and which only substitutes the tyranny of the despots of the street for the tyranny of crowned autocrats.

Great, indeed, are the questions that are being mooted in Russia, Austria, Germany and Bulgaria: questions brought to focus by Maximalism, Bolshevism, So-

vietism and all the other emancipating movements of anarchy, which are not, gentlemen, which are not and which can not be the democracy of Wilson.

Europe will have to arm herself, will have to resist, and if this disease does not wear itself out by the exhaustion of its own force, the intervention of the free European and North American armies will be the only means of reestablishing and founding in those old empires the basis of true liberty and true democracy for the new republics just declared.

We may await with tranquillity the solution of these trying problems, because those in control are spirits with a greatness worthy of the grandeur of the epoch through which the world is now passing. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson guarantee to us that reconstructed Europe will have as its foundation, not disturbing anarchy, but just law and true democracy, firmly established upon the bases of the empires that have been destroyed.

However, gentlemen, there is still another lesson of the war just ended, and we must not forget to make use of it for ourselves, for the salvation of our own country.

The world moves toward other laws, toward other goals, toward a future of illimitable extent. Crowns have disappeared, democracy seems to be extending its vast dominion over the whole world. All human relations are changed, transformed, recast, even those between the sexes. The older conditions of life are being swept away in a revolution that may have incalculable results.

Woman assumes now in the destiny of the human race a part that will encumber her with old traditions not experienced hitherto. In the British electorate, if I mistake not, there are six million women voters. A revolution, one of the greatest revolutions of the world, has taken place legally, peacefully, by an act of the parliament, without any one's further concerning himself over the incalculable change that has occurred in the policy of one of the greatest nations of Europe.

Will it be possible for Brazil, in the midst of all these revolutions and upheavals, not to suffer its meed of change in the character

of its politics, its institutions, the procedures of its statesmen?

Can we imagine that our political order will pass through these European cataclysms without also bringing us—unless we use the utmost care to reestablish ourselves in liberty and law—to the extremes already reached by colossal nations, the nations of hoary antiquity, of the outworn imperial order in Europe?

No, gentlemen; we must be taught by these events, and we ought to realize that our republic must accommodate herself to the new modes of thought, that our government must set its people a different example from the wonted one, or days perhaps tempestuous will be in store for us.

You will note that only oligarchies and autocracies in the midst of this European convulsion find themselves overthrown. Russia has crumbled, Turkey is paralyzed, Bulgaria is helpless, Austria is ruined, Germany is in chaos. On the other hand, republican France, free England, the democratic United States, find themselves still secure, calm, immovable, safe on the foundation of their liberty.

Let us fashion ourselves after them, gen-

tlemen; let us baptize our republic with their ideals.

Let us accept the lessons of the great apostle of the White House, as we strive to find in a genuinely practical democracy the law of our life; let us defend our institutions against the winds that blow, now more than ever, from all the corners of heaven.

Gentlemen of the senate, I shall end this rambling discourse by urging that a resolution be passed in our session of to-day in token of exultation over the victory of the allied arms, both the European and the North American, and by requesting that the president of the senate be authorized to forward this resolution to the government of each of the allied countries, to the government of the United States and to the senates of all these nations: a resolution expressive of the sentiments of immense satisfaction and unspeakable pride with which the Brazilian senate and the Brazilian nation have received this divine victory of the armies that for four years have so gloriously battled upon the fields of Europe for democracy and human liberty.



PAN AMERICANISM: ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

BY

JULIO E. RUEDA

The author, who emphasizes the fact that he is a "son of toil," and speaks, as he says, from the standpoint of "the masses," and who is frankly friendly to the United States, because he believes the United States not only has no evil designs upon the sovereignty of the other American countries, but also that the United States can not afford to attack their sovereignty, addresses his countrymen in the interest of continental solidarity, commercial exchange and interamerican good will and coöperation. The total conquest of the southern countries by the United States would be impossible, he argues, and if possible, unremunerative and disastrous, because to hold the nations in subjection would exhaust both them and the United States, and to grant them free commercial intercourse with Europe and Asia would not advantage the conquerors. He therefore urges international confidence, as being based not only upon sentiment, but also upon economic necessity.—THE EDITOR.

COURTEOUSLY invited by the Sociedad Artística e Industrial del Pichincha to deliver this lecture, I was inclined to excuse myself, as I might have done, counseled by the belief I have of the deficiency of my intellectual and oratorical ability; but, in my anxiety to promote honorably the betterment of my country, and above all, with the desire of removing baseless prejudices in respect of what has to do with certain conceptions of international economics, I did not hesitate, at this moment of great universal expectation, to accept the invitation, in order to say to the great laboring masses that the hour has arrived for thinking seriously regarding the future destiny of the Ecuadorian people, within the limits of the nationality in which are developed the respective human activities. So I now have the honor to appear before you in order to set forth—even if with unauthoritative word, at least with the faith of conviction—ideas that have to do with the elevated problem of Pan American solidarity.

As an American, and above all, as an Ecuadorian who knows the spirit of his compatriots with regard to the economic relations of his country with the countries of Europe and North America, I have desired to limit myself for the present to analyzing certain details that ought to

be known in advance, in order to work with liberty and confidence for the increase of the commercial operations which we must carry on with other nations and especially with the United States of America.

It may seem strange to you that it should be a private individual, with very limited authority, who comes to you to discuss this truly thorny subject; but if you consider that my ideas are merely the result of a profound conviction that both the great political and the economic evolutions are usually initiated by the popular masses, it being from their bosom whence spring the broad movements and the most transcendent reforms, I doubt not you will give your benevolent attention to the words of a son of toil, who, a stranger to fantastic pretensions and guided by the sanest of intentions, desires only to bring to the conviction of his fellow-countrymen his frank and honest way of thinking regarding what has to do with the future economic well-being of the nation and the trade of his people with English America.

There are two reasons that have had weight in impelling me to study the effects of commercial interchange between the United States and Latin America: first, the extraordinary growth which the former country's trade has achieved, during the last four years, thanks to the gigantic and horrible present war, and, second, the prospect that is to be presented to the Hispano-American republics when the immense struggle shall have been ended, by whatever means.

¹A lecture delivered in the Municipal hall of Quito before the Sociedad Artística e Industrial del Pichincha, July 4, 1918.

The formidable world conflagration which has already caused such ravages, and which, like another Charybdis; has swallowed up so many men, devoured so much material and shaken to their foundations all the bases of the established social and economic institutions, has been, nevertheless, fruitful in wise lessons: its drastic and demolishing action has cast down edifices, temples of art, as well as the fortified castles of human preconceptions that have prevailed in spite of the attacks made upon them by civilization and progress. Humanity will profit by these lessons. It will snatch from the furnace the crystallized diamond that will radiate brilliant flashes and illuminate new paths and new institutions!

I do not come, gentlemen, to make apology for a great people. A people that has produced liberators like Washington, economists like Franklin, poets like Longfellow, statesmen like Jefferson and Monroe, needs not the apology that can be made for it by the most obscure of its admirers. Its apology is its history; its apology is in its works; its apology is its own greatness, acquired by dint of labor and resistless energy of character; its apology is the brilliant and exalted position which it occupies in the concert of the great nations, a position won in the brief passage of a little less than a century and a half; its apology is its faith in success, its confidence in the future and its ardent love for work, for progress, for civilization.

I do not come, moreover, to excuse it for the mistakes it may have made in the realm of its international relations: mistakes that have given opportunity to its detractors to use them to sow distrust and antipathy among the Latin-American peoples by attributing to the United States imperialistic aspirations and absorptive tendencies in respect of the New World: an undertaking enormously prejudicial to the interests of the rest of the continent, as it has hindered the loyal and sincere approximation of the Hispano-American nations in order to constitute the great Pan American union that should guarantee the progress and sovereignty of all the Americas. These mistakes, however hurtful to the American cause, have been

recognized and chivalrously repaired as far as possible; and history, although it can never justify them, since they were attacks upon the law of nations, will, albeit, recognize that the repentance has been sincere and the restitution great.

I desire, besides, to express and to make clear, in order to guard against future prejudices and malevolent interpretations, that I have no interested motives, that I obey no suggestion of any kind, but only the dictate of my own mind, the impulse of my own heart, which have led me to a conviction of the wisdom of strengthening our political, economic and commercial relations with the great nation of the north; and that if I have decided to treat of these subjects, it is because I think I am thus serving the American cause in an effective manner and because I desire its true well-being, casting aside the stale preconceptions that enormously prejudice the legitimate progress and full development of the continent.

The suspicion with which every contract that is to be carried out with North Americans is regarded is a secret to no one, and, above all, when it has as its object an engagement entered into by some government of these Latin-American republics. Confining myself to Ecuador, I may mention that the history of our transandine railway has been perhaps the one that has occasioned us distrust and suspicion, if not a certain aversion to the improper proceedings of the company that operates it. It is evident that the avarice of certain contractors, making light of commercial faith, has violated definite obligations involved in clear and precise contracts. This has caused us a mass of bitter disillusionments and our heated protest against what has thus dampened our most cherished hopes. If, however, this method of procedure constitutes a vituperable assault upon all law, it is committed by a private enterprise, whose incorrect methods have been heartily censured by the Americans themselves, and this may not signify, by any means, that we ought to extend the responsibility for these abuses to the entire North American nation, and that we ought to suspend or restrict our economic transactions with a

country that, in many ways, is now playing a most astounding part in world finance.

Before judging *a priori* the causes of our resentments, we ought to concern ourselves with our immediate future; we must remove the old prejudices and straighten our steps along a practical route, if, with serenity of spirit and impartiality and without hatreds or distrust, we study the true prospect that awaits these beautiful lands which have not yet ceased to be "El Dorado" for the inhabitants of the Old World and which are so to-day for the sons of the great republic of the north.

As for myself, I think that, after the present monstrous hecatomb that is drowning humanity in torrents of blood, Spanish America will be the desired field of action in which will be resolved the highest economic problems, whether because the wealth and exuberance of its territories will attract even the most avaricious classes of the conquerors and the conquered, in the hope of retrieving the enormous losses suffered, or whether also because the interests of the children of our own republics demand the accumulation of productions, supplied heretofore by the European and North American industrials.

Hence I consider there ought to be no postponement of the anticipatory and tranquil analysis of our international political situation and orientation in new directions, when by reason of the necessities of life we must be involved in a need of economic relations with the countries rich in capital and products, and especially with the United States, because this is the nation which; in her commerce, her industries and her manifold and complex financial activities; has placed herself, beyond dispute, at the front as the standard-bearer of the economic movement of the world.

If with these preliminaries to the discourse I am about to begin you discover the sincerity of my intentions and discern the capital importance involved in the problem which I am permitted to sketch briefly, I shall consider myself happy in having added my small contingent to the great work of Ecuadorian economic regeneration, and the greatest stimulus that you can give me will be to continue to strengthen

and perfect that undertaking, according to the plan I have been glad to initiate.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

The Monroe doctrine and its economic range.—The United States may not make colonies of the Latin-American countries, if it seeks commercial domination.—Does the commerce of the northern republic threaten the autonomy of these countries?—Are the Latin republics, as political entities, in a position to avail themselves of the economic resources of North America?—Limitations of this tendency.—What benefits spring or can spring from the strengthening of economic relations between the different countries of the American continent?—The true function of Pan Americanism.

"America for the Americans:" behold, four words, pronounced by a great statesman and converted into a doctrine that has given rise to manifold and complicated interpretations by means of which it has been considered, by some, as a token of the security of the autonomy of the Latin-American republics and, by others, as a menace to this same autonomy.

Merely because each one, according to his position in the political realm, has given it the interpretation that has pleased him most is not enough to detain us for an examination of the different arguments. Respectful of the opinions of others, we shall be satisfied to examine this doctrine from the point of view of economics, and nothing more.

In this regard, we believe, simply and plainly that: *we ought to consider the Monroe doctrine as a precept of the American family, tending to give vigor to the autonomy of the different political members that compose it, by means of close economic and commercial ties.*

With design we begin this address with a frank and categorical declaration on our part, because we desire, above all things, to make it clear that the Monroe doctrine is charged with no danger for the sovereignty of the Latin-American countries, and that, whatever were the thought of the United States in respect of the interpretation she gives to the Monroe doctrine, that country can not and ought not to proceed against such sovereignty without this involving at the same time a grave

prejudice to her own interests: an assertion which we proceed to demonstrate.

In truth, if this doctrine prevails, what would the United States purpose in destroying the autonomy of these nations by reducing them to colonies that should remain under her domination? We understand that she would not be led to this determination by the desire to extend the limits of her territorial frontiers for the mere pleasures of extending them: it would be done unquestionably upon the impulse of a political design or of an economic design or of both at once; there could be no other explanation.

It would be a political aim if, by such a proceeding, the Anglo-Americans should establish a political hegemony that would permit them not only to occupy a superior place in the rank of world nations, but also to maintain this hegemony without injury to their present international proportions. These results would never be achieved by the elimination of twenty peoples from the rôle of free and sovereign nations; for not only would they not obtain them, but they would expose themselves to the risk of diminishing their world potentiality, with manifest detriment to their interests.

In truth, in order to reduce to colonies the twenty sovereign and independent nations which, besides being composed of individuals of diverse race, language, usages and customs, they would be con-naturals, with political regimens of autonomous life, there would be a need for enormous sacrifices, expressed in the employment of the most potent means of destruction, and for a cruelty that would involve a total extermination of an entire race. Unquestionably by this procedure the United States would lose almost wholly her present brilliant international position, because not only could not the conquest be made peacefully, but, in case of war with this object, it would not be feasible for her to maintain her navy and her army as irresistible forces. If supremacy among the nations is determined by the maritime power and military strength that each nation can command, there is no doubt that at least temporarily she would lower her rank as a great power, apart from the fact that her moral level would descend

to the lowest scale by the scandalous and unexampled outrage which she would thus offer to the civilized world and to the most sacred precepts of the law of nations. Even granting that the United States, with a more or less considerable sacrifice, should succeed in subduing the different Latin-American countries—an achievement, on the one hand, difficult to accomplish, inasmuch as, half a century ago, without the culture and civilization to which they have attained at present, without the different and multiple resources at their command to-day, they did not yield to the tutelage of the mother-country, to which they were bound by ties of race, likeness, language, usages, customs, etc.—would these peoples, we say, in the present circumstances, permit their autonomy to be wrested from them by a country to which they are not attached in the senses mentioned and in circumstances in which it is not possible to allege even the primitive right of conquest?

It might be argued that, even if temporarily the United States should lose somewhat in the strength of her armies, navy and other resources, this would not prevent her, in view of her great economic vitality, from reëstablishing and even improving *ipso facto* her capacity, and that always, as an object of objects, with the colonization of the countries of Latin origin she would acquire an international political preponderance superior to that which she exercises at present. To this we must reply: The fact that a country extends her territorial frontiers does not signify an increase in her universal political supremacy, because, if this were so, the political scale of nations would be graduated according to the greater or less extent of their territorial area, which is absurd. The United States, in making colonies of Spanish America, would only burden her territorial frontiers and nothing more.

The history of colonial empires like those of England, France, Spain, etc., demonstrates that at the present time it is impossible to reduce a country by force, with a view to compelling her to proceed according to the arbitrary will and machinations of the conqueror; that is, that with the passage of the centuries and in propor-

tion to the great progress of humanity, it has become practically impossible for a conquering nation to hold in subjection a colony, if she does not do so upon condition of permitting it to act as if it were a foreign and independent country. An example of this we have in the political colonial regimen of Canada, the Transvaal and even of India and Australia. Hence England, in spite of being the nation that has achieved greatest success in the world as a colonizer, has been obliged to declare, by means of her minister, Mr. Asquith:

That the opinion of this country is almost unanimous in opposing restrictions of class in the parliament of the Union and that the government ought not to permit British opinion, whether that of the people or of the parliament, ever to thwart the liberty of a colony supplied with a government of its own, as is the Transvaal.

The same was recognized by France, when, in 1911, in ordering a revision of the tariffs of her colony, she said:

Our colonies can mark yesterday with red letters . . . the colonies, empowered to adopt a policy adequate to their interests, have enjoyed undeniable prosperity, while the others, compelled to submit to the rule of another country, have been plunged in ruin and have come face to face with the most complete disaster! Only one conclusion is possible: all colonies ought to be free to adopt the system which, in their own opinion, is most consistent with their local conditions.

From this it is seen that the United States, even in case she succeeded in making colonies of the Ibero-American countries, would be compelled to leave them to act freely and in conformity with their local conditions (if she were not bent upon plunging them in ruin); and, in this case, she would be able to add to her political mass only by the minute consideration that would be demanded by their complex organization and oversight. What then would be the advantage of such a colonization? Besides, we must suppose that a people highly intelligent and ruled by purely democratic institutions would not forget the wise observation of Montesquieu, confirmed by the infallible lessons of history, that a republic which

changes into a conqueror endangers its own liberty.

We well understand that it would not be a political aim that would lead the great republic of the north to so unwise a resolution as this. The extension of her enormous commerce and the idea of having assured markets on which to impose it would be perhaps the only motive that would stimulate her to so daring an enterprise. In this case, it is proper to inquire: Does the United States need to colonize the countries of Hispano America in order to impose her commerce upon them? If we had to give an affirmative answer to this question, we should have to agree that the colonial system is the best method by which a country can gain commercial supremacy, which, according to modern economic and financial systems, is proven to be an arrant absurdity.

In the first place, in order to encompass the colonization of these countries, not only would it be necessary to sacrifice an immense number of human lives, but also to employ vast quantities of money, because if the subdual of the Transvaal cost England twenty thousand men and two hundred and fifty million pounds sterling, it may be assumed that the conquest of twenty autonomous peoples would cost incomparably greater sums. All this would be, as we should say, but to begin the business of commercial conquest, which, in respect of its results, we shall now see that, far from being advantageous, it would be a genuine economic failure.

Supposing the United States, in order to carry out this enterprise, should employ only double the sum that the subdual of the Transvaal cost England, it would be necessary to spend the respectable sum of five hundred million pounds sterling, or six times as much as the cost of the Panamá canal. It is clear that for an undertaking of such great proportions the employment of this sum would be by no means out of proportion; but the fact remains that this operation would amount to nothing as a business enterprise, and that by this means the United States would not secure the imposition or extension of her commerce among the conquered na-

tions, and therefore all the expense for this purpose would turn out to be useless and prejudicial. Let it be understood that this calculation is made intentionally, without comparing it with the cost of the present war; thus we see that the United States has spent a sum of millions much in excess of that indicated, and this merely to prepare, equip and transport her armies. What will be the cost to the United States of her intervention in the present struggle, if it be prolonged? What would a war of a hundred years cost her in a contest with the whole Latin continent?

Let us imagine, for a moment, the United States as owner of the Latin-American republics, upon which she is going to impose and compel by force the establishment and development of her trade. In order to accomplish this object there would be only two ways: either to prohibit her supposed colonies from commercial relations with the other countries with which they carry on a heavy and intricate business, or to leave them at liberty to continue this trade.

In order to decree the prohibition it would be necessary:

1. To enjoy a power heretofore unknown, that would enable her, at a given moment, to replace the supply of the multiple and varied economic transactions that the several countries of the American continent carry on with the countries of Europe.

2. To have the capacity to consume the sum total of the natural products that constitute the amount of their exportations.

3. *To be amply able to produce all the articles* that these countries consume and that constitute the total of their importations.

As soon as we analyze these factors, we must agree that such pretensions would be inachievable; for can it even be imagined that there exists in the world a country that, in a moment and without very grave consequences, can violate the laws, contracts, tariffs and innumerable mechanisms that constitute the economic system of seventy million inhabitants? Is it conceivable to suppose that by the art of enchantment a people, however powerful it may be, can absorb four or five times as much as is demanded by its ordinary interests? Are we to believe that there

is a nation which, from one moment to another, can supply the necessities of a demand entirely above her production?

Wisdom and even simple common sense tell us that such pretensions would be the conception of an unattainable Utopianism, if not the expression of an insane dream, and this may not be supposed in a very intelligent and essentially practical people like that of the United States.

From the foregoing, whatever might be its importance in the Spanish-American countries, it would have necessarily to leave things as they are, or rather, not even under the colonial regimen could the United States impose herself commercially to the extreme of displacing *ipso facto* its competitors of the Old World.

So therefore, if the great republic of the north, because of inability and the force of circumstances, could not prevent commercial transactions with other countries, her policy would be to permit such transactions to continue, as hitherto, their usual course. What in this case, would be the use of spending five hundred million pounds sterling on an affair from which she would not obtain greater advantages than those that would accrue to the other countries without the cost of a single cent for this purpose? What then would be the advantage of such a colonization?

The history of world commerce, the progress of the daily increasing international finance, the very important part which the modern economic and commercial systems play in the life of peoples, demonstrate to us sufficiently to convince us that from the code of nations has disappeared for ever the old and useless proceeding of taking possession of a country in order to gain commercial control of her. The shackles of colonization are no longer the best argument to convince peoples of the goodness of a commerce, and much less to establish it.

There is only one method in the world of business by means of which a country (whatever be her rank in the political sphere) can win commercial supremacy. This method, which is the outgrowth of generations, of centuries perhaps, may be stated thus: *Commercial supremacy is only secured now under a system of absolutely*

free interchange and by means of a reasonable offer that enables a country to drive out competitors.

By this peaceful proceeding and in naught that has to do with colonizations has Argentina succeeded in forcing her way into the markets of the world, to the point of commercially outstripping countries productive of similar articles and in other ways incomparably superior in political weight. In a similar manner, the industrials of Belgium, Switzerland, etc., countries not possessed of colonies, have broken the record in the markets of Europe and America, besting, in proportion to their territorial extent and population, the markets of England and France, genuinely colonial countries. The United States has not found it necessary to seek colonies in any part of the world, and merely by the aid of the system described has she been able to carry the products of her laborious children into the markets of the other great continents.

If then the United States does not need to make assault upon the sovereignty of the Latin republics, in order to develop broadly her economic activities, there, where democratic liberty has caused to disappear the secular antagonisms of races and beliefs, what would be her procedure in respect of commercial relations with these countries.

Only on mutual confidence between contracting parties, on the rigid fulfilment of obligations made and on the greater or less benefits that result from these operations depends the success or failure of modern financial undertakings. Consequently it is binding upon her statesmen and business men to guide public opinion and events along a path that leads solely and exclusively to these results, by charging, above all, her statesmen and writers to carry conviction to the Latin-American countries that the Monroe doctrine does not involve a protectorate over any of them, but that it is the highest exponent of American international confraternity.

The antagonism of race which, in the opinion of some, separates the Latin from the Saxon peoples is only imaginary, says a great Colombian publicist, Doctor

Francisco José Urrutia, and this is more evident still when, with the flight of years, we see confirmed by palpable facts the truth of this confirmation: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, etc., have been able to achieve their present political and commercial importance only by means of a broad, heterogeneous immigration, which has permitted them to invigorate with new blood the sap that coursed through their primitive nature. Only thus have they been able to banish intolerance of beliefs and parties (productive of intestine wars), in order to cultivate the abundant tree of peace under whose benignant shade these peoples move contentedly, thanks to the great advantages that are wont to flow from progress and civilization rightly understood.

Besides, the necessities of life do not inquire if the articles needed for supplying them have been produced by individuals of Mongolian or Caucasian race, or if such articles originated in Asia or in Europe, or, much less, if the individuals who offer them are Japanese or North Americans; the only thing of importance to humanity in this respect is to obtain them under conditions that will satisfy its needs in the best manner and at the least possible cost. Commerce therefore consists in the exchange of certain products for others that meet human needs, and this exchange is developed, more and more every day among nations, in proportion as they increase their needs, between the countries that abound in greater supplies and better conditions. This is the case of the United States with respect to the countries of Latin origin in what has to do with the development and broadening of her commerce.

Let it not be said that the commercial development of Latin America with English America brings with it a chain of gold, which, even though it be gold, is, nevertheless, a chain, and which, with the passage of the years, will end by strangling the liberty of countries that will not have for their defense either ships or armies, but only the ridiculous omnipotence of right. The ties of commercial solidarity and a community of interests are, indeed, bonds to strengthen sympathy and create sincere regard, without diminishing liberty.

We have already said, on the one hand, that it would not benefit the United States to attack the liberty of these countries, and, on the other, even accepting the absurd hypothesis that this should take place, she would end by liberating them again, because commercial hegemony, which is her golden dream, is not acquired to-day in countries poverty-stricken and brutalized by servitude, but among prosperous and free peoples. If it were not so, the philosophy of history would have no reason for being, and we should begin by denying that the prosperity and greatness to which English America arose through her political emancipation from the mother-country was perhaps the most potent reason why Spanish America should win her sovereignty. Then we should have to deny and to consider as a farce the words of Mr. Wilson when, in describing the political relations between the United States and the other countries of the American continent, he said:

They are the relations of a family of humanity that dedicates itself to furthering true constitutional liberty. We know that this is the field that yields the best fruits, we know this is a cause that we support in common with our neighbors, because we have had to defend it for ourselves.

As to other considerations, if the true basis of social morality is self-interest, let us not forget that when a country, whatever she be, makes an attack upon the liberty of nations, she only sharpens the blade that is to bring death to her own interests.

If the political absorption of the Latin republics by the gigantic republic of the north would turn out to be something more than difficult, there is no reason for opposing the ample exercise of her economic activities, which, being freed from moldering and vain prejudices, ought to enter upon a more practical phase, and, as such, more advantageous for the political entities of North, Central and South America.

Happily a long and sad experience is convincing the young countries that the absolute stability of credit is the only positive basis of national and individual prestige; that credit is maintained by

means of tested honesty, both on the part of him who offers it and on the part of him who uses it; and that every shortcoming in this respect disturbs its nexus, bringing with it grave and complicated occurrences.

The slight scrupulosity with which some of the Latin republics have conducted themselves in the practice of these precepts has been the occasion of many of the international misunderstandings with which the history of Spanish America abounds. This does not mean that we ought to accept the idea that a country by an appeal to force may exact of another the fulfilment of its obligations, as Mr. Roosevelt frankly declared in his message submitted to the congress of 1905, in which he said:

The government of the United States may not oppose the enforced collection made by the European states of just debts due them by the Latin-American republics.

Already, in 1902, the eminent statesman and public man of the Argentine republic, Doctor Drago, came forward to expound and define broadly the rights and duties that belong to nations in this respect; and the ideas and sentiments uttered by him are without doubt the expression of the sentiments and ideas of all the countries that compose the Latin-American family.

What we propose to make clear, when we say that the misuse of credit brings grave and complicated occurrences, is that whoever is guilty of it enormously retards his progress, often placing himself in imminent danger of attacking his own existence. Hence, in order to acquire credit and enjoy the international standing that belongs to them, the leaders of nations are under obligation to conduct their affairs in such a manner as to conduce to these results: the only means of placing their countries in a position of security and happiness.

Not only are they under obligation to secure stability of credit, but also to obtain the most ample development of it, since upon it depends the greater or less prestige of nations. The broadening and development of credit, however, is not accomplished by avoiding or restricting the markets where it is offered. A fundamental economic law teaches us that the supply

influences the demand, and that the more ample the former, the better the conditions in which the latter is placed; consequently, in trying to obtain economic resources the Latin republics, not only must they not cut themselves off from the North American markets, but they ought to have access to them in order to obtain the best terms; *it being understood that only the more advantageous offers made by other countries should constitute the rational limits that might cause them to withdraw from such markets.*

Moreover, we ought not to forget that by means of strict and just economic relations between the different countries of the American continent can be obtained the solid establishment of their respective political sovereignty; because nothing leads more to the respect of the rights of others than the consideration of one's own interests; and all attack upon the sovereignty of any country whatsoever constitutes also an attack upon the interests of the country that makes it. We have said already that only by aid of true political autonomy are the progress and greatness of nations conceivable, and that only between prosperous and independent nations and upon the basis of secure finance is the development of economic prosperity achievable; therefore to destroy the autonomy of a nation is equivalent to overthrowing its economic prosperity, and this being overthrown, there is eliminated a great factor in the world of business, an elimination that reacts to the direct injury of the country that has contributed to it, consequently depriving itself of a very important element of economic organization.

"Financial stability conduces, more than any other factor, to political stability," said Mr. Knox; and this being applied to international economic relations, we can assert that financial stability among nations contributes most effectively to the stability of international policy, or rather to the respect and stability of their divers sovereignties.

As a consequence of his line of thought, we behold without any misgivings the breaking down of the Monroe doctrine;

and if Cuba, Haiti, México and Panamá present themselves to cause us to hold a contrary opinion, we must testify that the lack of a sufficiently marked economic strength is exactly what has contributed to dim to a certain extent the glory of their liberties; and that in proportion as it be developed, they will recover their ancient splendor; and their civil rights, which are the foundations of their political rights, will acquire greater luster. México, above all, in spite of the pessimism of a considerable number of illustrious Americans, can not be prevented by the United States from the exercise of her political liberties, because her economic relations with that country have attained such importance, that, of themselves alone, they constitute the best defense of her own sovereignty. To maintain the contrary would be to overlook the lessons of history and commit one's self to refusing to understand that the sterile and monstrous war that is ravaging the countries of aged Europe is only bringing in its train the weakening of world finances, with a doleful legacy of misery and famine for vanquishers and vanquished, with imminent danger of dragging to the tomb several legendary autonomies.

Apart from all this, many are the practical benefits that would spring from the strengthening of such relations, which we should prefer to study on a better occasion, and we only point out here that by means of them would also be realized, in a great measure, one of the aspirations of man, that is, to place himself in a position to command the greatest number of means for satisfying his interests, in the best possible manner.

The realization of these aspirations between the American family, under a régime of liberty, peace, justice, friendship and affection, is what constitutes, in short, the great and humanitarian doctrine of Pan Americanism. To spread it is the mission of good Americans, and to aspire to its positive solution ought to be the best reward of its propagators. To accept it with warmth and without vacillations would be to fuse into a single heart the sentiments of the American continent, from Bering strait to cape Horn.

EARLY PRESENTMENTS REGARDING THE EXISTENCE OF A WEST- ERN WORLD

BY

ENRIQUE J. ARCE

The fascinating occupation of interrogating ancient and medieval history with a view to ascertaining what was known or thought in Europe regarding the ultramarine regions, prior to the discovery of America, never ceases to interest students. The author of the following article has brought together numerous passages that refer to the sphericity of the earth, the existence of antipodes, the ancient fear of the unknown ocean, whether to the west or the south, and indications of a surmise, antedating Columbus, regarding a western world.—THE EDITOR.

IT ACCORDS with man's nature to speculate about things beyond the domain of the senses. Probably, in proportion as the human species became removed from the lower stages of civilization, there arose in it beings of privileged endowments who, in the presence of the grandeur of nature, concerned themselves with such subjects as the form of the earth and its relative position in the cosmos. Whether because characters for writing did not exist or because those exceptional men did not make themselves known or from whatever other cause, history has not preserved the memory of them. The first references to these questions mentioned among the pagans, passing over the system of the world hinted at by Homer, are to be found in Talos of Miletus (640-548 B. C.), the founder of the Ionic school, who attributed to our planet the form of a disc, floating upon the ocean and dipping to one side because of the weight of the mountains of the tropics.

Later, the school established by Pythagoras (570-480 B. C.) replaced this theory with that of the roundness of the earth, to which Plato dedicates these beautiful lines in his *Timæus*:

God gave to the world the spherical form and everywhere he placed the extremes at an equal distance from the center, preferring thus the most perfect of figures.

The genius of Aristotle adhered to the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, and

he proved it by the circular shadow that the earth projects upon its satellite during eclipses of the moon. This doctrine was spread afterward by the Alexandrian school, represented by its two great masters, Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, and by the no less famous one of Rhodes, through the efforts of the celebrated astronomer Hipparchus and the philosopher Posidonius, among whose disciples was Cicero.

Also Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela held the same opinion, which in their century (the first of the Christian era) was generally accepted.

There were, however, some philosophers of antiquity who denied the roundness of the planet: to this number belonged Xenophanes, who believed the earth to be of a conical form; Anaximenes, who considered it cubical, like a die; and Eudoxus, who represented it as a square.

The theory of the sphericity of the earth being generalized among thinking men, opinions became divided in respect of its position in the universe: some held (Euclid, Archimedes) our globe to be in the center of the world and that around it revolved the sun and planets, while others (Anaximander, Pythagoras, Philolaus, Aristarchus) placed our orb in the center, with the planets whirling about it.

Aristotle, Euclid and Strabo accepted the spherical form of the earth, but believed it to be motionless.

In the third century B. C., there existed a conflict between the two theories,

the geocentric and the heliocentric, which ended with the triumph of error regarding the earth; because the schools of Alexandria and Rhodes adopted the sphericity of the earth, but not that of the planets moving around the sun, and, in consequence, they propagated the contrary.

Passing now to the Christian writers, we see that some, like the rhetorician Lactantius, and the monk Cosmas, sur-named *Indicopleustes* ("Indian Voyager"), condemned opinions that favored the sphericity of the earth: Cosmas, because he considered them contrary to the biblical text, and Lactantius, because he believed the explanation of his opponents absurd (as when he countered by inquiring why it was that what was on the earth did not fall off), that heavy bodies tend always toward the center, like the spokes of a wheel.¹

Cosmas *Indicopleustes*, after rejecting, with Lactantius, the doctrine of antipodes, affirmed, in his *Topographia Christiana*, the terrestrial surface to be plane; he gave to the world the form of the sacred arch of Moses, and he made the succession of days and nights to consist of the interposition of a great mountain behind which the sun disappeared every evening.

The injury done to science by the theories of the monk Cosmas might cause a wrong view to be taken of him, and therefore it is proper to mention that only his works upon cosmography were harmful, since his labors as a traveler were highly useful, according to Vivien de San-Martín (*L'Histoire de la géographie*), Malte-Brun (*Précis de géographie universelle*) and von Humboldt (*Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of America*). In the narrative

"Is there any one so extravagant," he says, "as to believe there are men who have their feet up and their heads down; that all that is lying here is there in the air; that the trees and plants grow downward and that the rain and hail fall upward? Can it be considered wonderful that the hanging gardens of Babylon have been numbered among the marvels of nature, when there are astronomers who hang out also the fields, the seas, the cities and the mountains?"

"I confess that I know not what to say of persons so pertinacious in their errors as to maintain such extravagances, except that they have no other object in their controversies than to entertain or to make a show of their genius, as it would be easy for me to prove with unanswerable arguments the impossibility of the heavens' being under the earth."—*Divine Institutions*, book III, chapter XXIV.

of his voyage through Ethiopia and through India to Ceylon, he has notes relative to the countries, inhabitants and productions, the consultation of which is fruitful. Even if nothing more was due to him than the celebrated crypt of Adulis, a valuable monument for the study of the history and geography of modern Abyssinia, he would have a right to the consideration and gratitude of posterity.

In spite of the fact that the cosmographic opinions of Cosmas set back the geographical science by several centuries, it is to be recognized, nevertheless, that they were not general among the Christians, as is proven by the writings of Saint Jerome and Saint Basil, in the fourth century; those of Simplicius, Macrobius, the Latin poet Dracontius and Martianus Capella, in the fifth; those of Philippus, in the sixth; those of Saint Isidorus of Sevilla, in the seventh; those of John of Damascus, Alcuin and Saint Bede the Venerable, in the eighth; those of the patriarch Photius and Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth; those of Adam of Bremen, in the eleventh; and those of the Presbyter Honorius and Guillaume de Conchis, in the twelfth. All these writers accepted or defended the sphericity of the earth, although some did not admit the existence of the antipodes. Saint Isidorus of Sevilla, for example, said in his *Originum seu Etymologiarum Libri XX*:

Besides these three parts, there is a fourth part withdrawn into the ocean toward the south, unknown to us, because of the ardor of the sun, in whose borders it is falsely said the antipodes dwell.²

"The ancients divided the hemisphere into five zones, of which they considered only two to be inhabited. "One of them," said Macrobius, "is occupied by us, and the other by men whose species is unknown to us." Aristotle, in his *Meteorology*, held the region embraced within the polar circle to be uninhabitable, because of the permanent ice, and the intertropical region (torrid zone) also to be uninhabitable, but from an entirely contrary cause, that is, the excess of the heat which obtains in it. He considered habitable only the two temperate zones, an idea admitted also by Pliny and other theorists. Thus, in the *Georgics* of Vergil, book I (translation of don Miguel A. Caro), we find the following stanzas:

Behold, the gilded sun, mid the twelve signs
That to the sphere refer, rules o'er the orb
In several parts divided. The heavens
Five zones do occupy, of them one
In the solar fire for ever blazing,

Later, the Arabian geographers and cosmographers who translated the Greek classic works contributed to the salvation of the true doctrine.

Several pagan scholars had a presentment of the existence of lands toward the west, entirely unknown to their contemporaries.

Plato, who believed in the antipodes, had made known, by putting them into the mouth of his master Socrates, these words:

I am convinced that the earth is very large and that we inhabit only the part that extends from Phasis to the pillars of Hercules . . . there are other peoples, according to my opinion, who inhabit the regions that are unknown to us.

Aristotle, in his *De Mundo*, writes:

The language of men has divided the habitable earth into islands and continents; doubtless it is all an island surrounded by the waters of the Atlantic; but it is probable that there are lands very far away, separated by the sea,

*By the solar flame for ever toasted;
Upon its right and left and round about it,
Bounded these parts, they stretch away
'Neath doleful rains and cerulean ices;
Another two between these rains and ices fall
(By special favor that the gods desired
To show to miserable humanity),
And between the two there runs the highway
Whereon obliquely swings the order of the stars.*

In the seventh book of the *Aeneid* we find these other lines:

How many deadly clouds of Micaenas
Went to scourge the Trojan city,
As fought at the foot of its merlons
Asia and Europe with insane cruelty;
He knows it whom the broad middle zone
Separates and the scorching sun besieges.

(These translations were made from the Spanish version of Caro.—THE EDITOR.)

Finally, Ovid, in *Metamorphosis I*, expresses himself thus: "The regions of the earth are equal to those of the heavens, and of these five, the one that is in the middle is not inhabited, because of the heat that exists there."

The ancients set up this belief because they observed that the places known by them became hotter and hotter as they went toward the south. There were not wanting, however, those who held the torrid zone to be inhabitable: Eratosthenes, for example, believed the equator could not be a hot region, but, on the other hand, temperate; Geminus, in turn, who considered that there could not be an excessive heat in the region equidistant from the tropics, expressed himself in these terms: "Do the Ethiopians, perchance, who live at the extremities of the torrid zone, also have a vertical sun during the solstices? It is not to be believed therefore that the torrid zone is unfit to be a habitation for man, as a great many places in it have been visited, and almost all are inhabited.

of which some are larger than this one we inhabit, and some smaller, but of them none is within the reach of our gaze, for just as these islands that we know belong to those seas, so this inhabited land belongs to the Atlantic sea, and many other inhabited ones to all the sea; because they also are islands surrounded by great seas.

The geographer Strabo recognized that the sea was so extensive and solitary that it could not be crossed. He said:

We call inhabited land that in which we live and of which we have knowledge; but in the same temperate zone, there may be two inhabited lands, and perhaps more than two, especially near the circle that passes through Thinae and the Atlantic sea.

The prince of Roman orators, in relating in his *De Republica* the dream of Scipio, exclaims:

Thou contemplatest the dwelling-place of the human kind; thou seest spread over the earth the habitation of man in narrow spaces, which resemble isolated moles on the face of our globe, in such a manner removed and separated that their communication seems impossible: some live in these regions, others in the opposite hemisphere and others in the region of the south.

Perhaps these opinions inspired in Seneca the following prophecy, which, by the mouth of the choir, he puts in the second act of his tragedy of *Medea*:

There will come in a far off time centuries of better fortune, in which the ocean will remove its barriers; from its bosom Thetis will draw forth new worlds, and the orb, broadening its borders, will let the Ultima Thule be known.³

Subsequent to Seneca, also Pliny the Elder, Pomponius Mela and Macrobius noted as probable the existence of other parts of the earth. Mela divided the earth into two continents: the old continent and that of the antipodes. Macrobius, in the fifth century, commenting on the passage of Cicero mentioned above, considered that, in the space lying between the western extremity of Europe and Africa

³The original stanza in Latin is thus:

Venient annis saecula seris
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet et ingens pateat tellus
Tethysque novos detegat orbe
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.

and the eastern extremity of India, there ought to be a great island.

The surface of the inhabited continents covered thus, it was natural that the inhabitants should be classified as known and unknown, according to their position on the globe, and then there appeared the names of *sinesios*, *periecos*, *antecos* and *antipodes*, which Geminus enumerates and defines with notable accuracy, and which to-day are current in our manuals of geography. "How antipodes," Geminus asks, "that is, men who walk with their feet opposite to ours, as we walk with our feet opposite to theirs? Because all heavy bodies," he answers himself, "tend toward the center of the terrestrial mass." An admirable application of the law of gravity.⁴

Among the Christian theologians, there was a diversity of opinions in respect of unknown lands to the west of Europe; for if, indeed, Lactantius, Saint Augustine, Saint Chrysostom and other fathers of the church combated the habitability of the torrid zone, the doctrine of antipodes and the possibility of navigating the immensity of the Atlantic, basing themselves upon particular philosophical opinions, the contrary was, in turn, believed by thinkers like Pope Saint Clement, Origen, Saint Bede the Venerable, Saint Ephraem, Saint Vergil and Saint Anselm.

Therefore, if Lactantius affirmed that there could be no inhabitants beyond the tropics, that the roundness of the earth was a monstrous idea and the doctrine of antipodes an aberration of the learned; if Saint Augustine maintained that in order to render admissible the existence of antipodes it was not sufficient that the earth should be round, unless it were proved to him beforehand that some descendent of Noah had crossed the ocean and succeeded in reaching the lands of the antipodes, Pope Saint Clement, in the epistle addressed to the Corinthians in the second century, said to them:

The mass of the immense sea, which, under the divine command erects itself to form mountains, passes not beyond the walls by which it has been surrounded, for the Lord said: "So far shalt thou come, and upon thyself shall thy waves fall back." The ocean that men can not cross and the worlds that are on

the other side of it are governed by the authority of the same Lord.

Saint Bede the Venerable wrote:

The ocean that surrounds with its waves the coasts of the earth, almost at the attitude of the horizon, divides it into two equal parts, of which we inhabit the upper, and our antipodes the lower; nevertheless, neither can we go where they are, nor are they able to come where we are.

Saint Vergil defended publicly the doctrine of antipodes, and, in a conversation held with Pope Zacharias (741-752), he assured him that the earth had inhabitants on the other side of the sea, for whom it was day when it was night for dwellers in Europe.⁵

Unfortunately, the erroneous doctrines prevailed, thus retarding, as a logical consequence, the progress of geography up to the thirteenth century, in which flourished four illustrious monks: Albertus Magnus and Vincent de Beauvais (Dominicans), and Roger Bacon and Raymond Lully (Franciscans), who gave rebirth to the teachings of the Greeks and Romans regarding the sphericity of the earth and the existence of remote and unknown regions to the west of Europe.

Indeed, Albertus Magnus, "the marvel of his country," says in his *Liber Cosmographicus de Natura Locorum*:

All the torrid zone is habitable, it being a mistake of the people to believe that those who have their feet turned toward us must necessarily fall off . . . the lower hemisphere, antipodal to us, is entirely aqueous; it is, in large measure, inhabited, and if the men of these remote regions do not come to ours, it is because of many intervening seas, or perhaps also because some magnetic force holds human flesh back as the lodestone retains iron.

Vincent de Beauvais taught in his *Speculum Naturale*, that the earth is round, convex and habitable for all, although he believed the torrid zone could not be visited because of the excessive heat.

Roger Bacon, called, because of his wisdom, the "Admirable Doctor," in a passage of his *Opus Majus*, a book dedi-

⁴Sales y Ferre: *El descubrimiento de América según las últimas investigaciones*, page 56.

⁵See Baronius: *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*, volume IX; and Mabillon: *Vita Sancti Vergilii*.

cated to Pope Clement IV, used the following words:

The sea does not cover, as is thought, three-fourths of the earth, for it is now evident that a considerable portion of the inhabited fourth part must be located under our own dwelling-place, inasmuch as the remotest parts of the Orient and the Occident are but a short distance from each other.

Moreover, he predicted that the time would come when men would discover this great part, which he located in the space that lies between the western extremity of Europe and the eastern extremity of India.

The beatific Majorcan Raymond Lully, known also by the name of the "Illuminated Doctor," proves in an ingenious manner the existence of a continent toward the west, extending the full length of Europe and Africa, as may be deduced from this quotation:

All the principal cause of the ebb and flow of the great sea, or that of England, is the arch of the water of the sea, which in the west rests upon a land opposite to the coasts of England, France, Spain and all the confines of Africa, along which our eyes see the ebb and flow of the waters, because the arch formed by the water as a spherical body must have counter-buttresses against which to press, else it could not be kept in place; and therefore, as our part finds support upon our continent, which we see and know, so in the opposite part toward the west it rests on another continent that we do not see or know from here; but the true philosophy, which knows and observes by the senses the sphericity of the water and its measured ebb and flow and which necessarily demands two opposite abutments that shall restrain the water, which is so movable, and may serve as pedestals for its arch, implies that precisely in the part that to us is western, there is a continent against which the mobile water strikes, just as it strikes on our respective eastern part.⁶

In this conception of the cause of tides there is an error proved by modern experience, to the effect that tides are due in the main, as Seneca said, to following the moon, they acquiring an enormous increase of speed in the great ocean, on account of its greater depth, moving in

parallel waves along the narrow coasts and undergoing an infinitude of changes according to the depth of the seas and the configuration of the shore-lines.

Finally there came, as a crown to the edifice of geographical truth, the incunable editions of the book *Amago Mundi*, written by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, and the *Universal History*, of which the author was Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who afterward became pope with the name of Pius II. The work of this pontiff was a résumé of the chief knowledge of the period. So therefore the sphericity of the earth and the doctrine of antipodes were held to be scientific truths in the fifteenth century, and they were professed as such by the lights of the church.

The Atlantic ocean was considered, up to the time of the discovery of America, insuperable and illimitable, there being attributed to it continuous storms and absolute darkness said to have been produced by an immense cloud, which, as it descended from the heights, rested upon the surface of the waters and at a certain distance blotted out the sea and the light of the sun. This was related by Rufus Festus Avienus, a Latin poet of the fourth century, in whose poem of *Ora Maritima* occurs the following passage:

The ocean stretches away to limitless horizons. No man has crossed its unknown waters or steered over it the ships that will never be aided by a propitious wind; never will a celestial breeze fill their sails. The air is shrouded by a mantle of cloud, which both hides the sea and covers the light of the sun.

This same belief passed afterward into Arabian civilization, for in the eleventh century, Idrisi, one of the geographers of Arabia, wrote:

No one has been able to learn anything certain regarding the ocean, because of its difficult and dangerous navigation, darkness, deep waters and frequent tempests, and because of fear of its enormous fish and haughty winds; but there are to be found in it many islands, some inhabited and others uninhabited. There is no sailor who would dare to navigate it or to penetrate its depths; and if some have sailed it a little, they have always followed its shores, without leaving them. The waves of this sea, although they press and move among themselves and are elevated like moun-

⁶*Questiones per artem demonstrativam soubiles*, cited by Father R. Cappa, in his *Critical Studies*, volume I, page 338.

tains, are always kept equal, and they do not break, for if they broke it would be impossible to plow it.

For these reasons it was common to call the Atlantic ocean the "tenebrous sea," regarding which there were current among the ignorant masses and even among people of education the most fantastic and extravagant fables: now it was Lucifer who, during the night, stretched out suddenly his enormous black hand from the depths of the waters to lay hold of the ship driven from the shore; now it was a monstrous polypus—Kraken—that embraced ships with its innumerable tentacles in order to sink them; now it was the mad whirlpool of a bottomless well, filled with gigantic monsters, which drew vessels in and swallowed them; now they were enormous lodestones that attracted boats and plunged them to the bottom of the waters, the region of lodestone; now it was an abyss of fire—the mouth of hell—which all the waters of the sea were not sufficient to extinguish; now it was an immense swamp—Erebus—surrounded by a great rock of emerald, very green and full of thick and fetid waters in which craft got stuck; now it was, finally, a gigantic bird called the Roc, which with its beak lifted laden vessels, with their crews, flew away with them to the clouds and afterward let them drop into the waves.

In the presence of these prospects of constant storms, horrible monsters, oceanic abysses, chaotic darkness and infernal fires, there was a faltering of the mind of the most intrepid sailors who sometimes went so far as to think of facing all these

imaginary dangers, located at unknown distances from Europe.⁷

All this is in respect of navigation toward the west. As to sailing southward, it was asserted that the air was irrespirable in the torrid zone, and that in proportion as the equatorial line was approached, men became black and were even turned into carbon by the excessive heat.

Happily, the larger part of these geographical errors had disappeared at the time in which Columbus accomplished his transcendent and unforgettable voyage that was to bring him immortality.

⁷Rabanus Maurus, a writer of the eleventh century, relates that the Caucasus contained mountains of gold that could not be penetrated because of the dragons, griffins and monstrous men that lived there.

The traveler Benjamín de Tudela, a Spanish rabbi of the seventeenth century, resided some time in India, China and other parts of Asia. From the book he wrote regarding his journeys, we copy the following paragraph because of its curiousness:

"To go to the extremities of the Orient by sea forty days are required. Some affirm that this sea is a strait subject to violent tempests stirred by the planet Orion with such fury that no traveler can master them, and vessels are detained so long on their course that men, after the consumption of their provisions, end by perishing of hunger. Behold, how the sailors who frequent this sea avoid hunger and death: they embark with wineskins hermetically sealed, which, as they swell with air, recover the figure of the animal whose skin is to serve as a boat. In the hour of danger, when there no longer remains any hope of salvation, each sailor places himself, with his good sword, on this craft. A plaything of the fierce waves, he should soon be submerged perhaps; but the eagles and the terrible griffins that hover incessantly over the troubled waves catch with their powerful claws the prey that the storm offers them, begin their flight and pass through the clouds, and when they are about to deposit their booty in some solitary valley or on some buttressed mountain, then the brave mariner makes use of his sword and escapes certain death by killing the gigantic bird that was getting ready to devour him.



MY TRIBUTE TO DEMOCRACY

WASHINGTON, LINCOLN AND THE NORTH AMERICAN PEOPLE

BY

TRAJANO BREA

Filled with admiration for the noble characters whom he cites and for the spirit, constitution and institutions of the United States, the author calls attention to the remarkable change that has taken place in the attitude and activities of our people during the last two years, which he considers not unnatural, but rather what would be expected under the circumstances, in view of the exigencies of the hour and the call for the reiteration of the principles that have always guided the nation.—THE EDITOR.

THERE are within the vast territory of the United States certain centers of civic worship around which develops and stirs a democracy flanked geographically by two oceans, which unquestionably will achieve an astonishing position, before the century terminates, as a coefficient of every kind of modern forces, and with two hundred million freemen.

This democracy—regarding which no one knows as to what it may achieve in the powerful mobilization of its resources—by converting the great war into a lofty question of doctrines, desires to impose upon the world a law of peace and equity, a law of nations for the benefit of all, including those that are the losers.

The interpreter of their longings, who formulated them, and who reiterates them again and again, is a man who has passed his life in thinking, writing and teaching; he is an academic who, separating himself from theories worn out by the present struggle, resolutely approaches the greatest of human events, wishing to stamp upon them a definite direction.

Elevated for the second time to the presidency, Woodrow Wilson has been changed into the militant apostle of an idea that is new, because it is more than the result of the concatenation of a long historical activity: it is the logic imposed by the events themselves. From time to time his voice is raised anew, ever announcing a better future for all men, and while the other belligerents confine themselves to fighting materially, Wilson fights by thinking.

At the beginning, his words seemed those

of a teacher who called vainly regarding all laws; afterward his allocutions were changed into counsels and warnings; later, into a call to arms; and, finally, into a definite and irrevocable vow.

Therefore those who provoked without cause the present disasters and the great misfortunes that may still occur, even after the concert of peace, would do well not to show indifference to the words of a statesman like him who ponders and weighs them before pronouncing them, but who, once the resolution be made, does not draw back.

On the other hand, the great statesman has expressed his desire to coöperate in building, upon the ruins of a ravaged Europe, a new Europe, freer, less exposed to political excitations, the wiles of secret diplomacy and the exploitation of the fear of war by formidable commercial and industrial interests. If his altruism is crowned with success, the future generations will bless the man of the New World who, appearing on the scene when the old continent was being consumed, imposed his will in order to save it from the disaster to which Pan Germanism, supported by the military caste, was dragging it.

The great republic of the north possesses, as I have said, innumerable centers consecrated to civic worship, a natural thing among a people whose first settlers were the harsh Puritans who went not there in search of material advantage, but rather of liberty, work, silence, in order to sing the solemn chorus of their psalms. Yet not wishing to give to his phrases the solemnity of a vow, President Wilson, in his last discourse, went, not now to the national

congress, but to the ashes of Washington, as if the American executive wished to establish the fact, by presenting as a faithful witness the father of his country, that his ideas of to-day are only the world application of the plans of liberty that guided the founder, whose life was to exemplify one of the straightest and most luminous lines of history.

Ascending always in the moral scale, Washington suddenly became an insurrectionist, a liberator and the head of the state, later to live again and die as a simple citizen in the silence of Mount Vernon. There is sufficient knowledge and recollection to-day by all of his biography as a son, worker, warrior, emancipator, gentleman and founder of a nation, as an honorable man at every moment. If he was not, he ought to have been, for Washington constituted one of those exemplary and most noble of figures that seem to have been set apart in anticipation by destiny to found peoples and races designed not to hinder the process of their prodigious development.

A PEOPLE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY

In a manifesto which has just reached my hands, and which proceeded from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a document issued by the president of that institution, a friend and admirer of Argentina, Mr. Elihu Root, I read this resolution:

The Endowment has endeavored to contribute what it could by taking and making public a clear and definite position in favor of the active and relentless prosecution of the war to the final victory of democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the president of the United States.

Behold how a pacifist people, since the wars which it has engaged in hitherto hardly affected the periphery of its political life, passes, in the course of a little more than a year, to be the most powerful factor of the allies. German self-sufficiency never

dreamed of this surprise: from a nation of bureaucrats, mechanics and farmers, it has been transformed into a vast, endless camp from the Atlantic the Pacific, in order to carry on, with characteristic activity, "the business of war."

Its traditional humanitarian spirit is silent. It reduces its means of existence, lavish beyond every other's, and it faces the possibility of a ration of corn and potatoes, in order to assure to those who are fighting, to its troops and those of its allies, wheat bread and succulent cuts of meat three times a day.

Only a year was needed to transform this people, changing its spirit from a narrow nationalism into the perspective of human rights. Its resources are emptied upon the exhausted bosom of Europe; its temper, firm and vigorous, checks the first discouragements of its allies, and its gallant troops are already avenging, heroically and valiantly, the outrages of the *Lusitania* and of Belgium; of Bernstorff leading conspirators in North America, of der Goltz impassively beholding the slaughter of the Armenians.

Its crusade of liberty is the formidable reflection of German aggression. A new race that has the very defects of its virtues, that like them is tenacious and robust, agile and strong; that possesses initiative and organization; that hates routine and loves the novel; and that sets liberty above everything in the world, arose exactly at the tragic hour in which the voice of the European leaders had a tone of disenchantment, and, with the rough fist of labor, snatching up the newly wrought sword, virgin of blood, advances the step and says: "Here I am!"

So there they are in France, in Italy and in Russia—the descendants of those who fell at Gettysburg, ready for the sacrifice, in order that, interpreting the word of the first of their citizens, the government of the people, by the people and for the people may not perish from the earth.



AN HISTORIC DAY: FEBRUARY 27 1844

BY

G. JIMÉNEZ HERRERA

In this brief sketch, the author outlines the history of the events that led to the division of the island of Santo Domingo, the separation of the Spanish elements of the population and the establishment of an independent state as the Dominican republic.—THE EDITOR.

ANTECEDENTS

THE idea of separation and independence, promulgated from his professor's chair in the city of Santo Domingo by Father Gaspar Hernández, an illustrious Peruvian priest, penetrated the minds of many of his students, still more excited by the ill-fated liberative revolution of Attorney Núñez de Cáceres, in 1821.

These ideas took deepest root in the breast of Juan Pablo Duarte, with his stay in Europe. He was a young man of great alertness and much talent and of an honorable and well-to-do family, who came with his lungs filled with the breath of liberty and his brain laden with much knowledge of the sovereignty of states and the advantages of independence. He set himself, as soon as he arrived, to seek friends for his cause by means of persuasion and by showing the benefits which the independence of the country and the creation of a sovereign state would bring to the people. When he had gained some friends by making use of all the means within his reach to secure supporters who would follow him toward his ideal of freedom and experience the blessings that would result from the enterprise, he succeeded in organizing, in the city of Santo Domingo, July 16, 1838, *La Trinitaria*,¹ a revolutionary society whose objects were separation from Haïti and the creation of a sovereign, free and independent state, that should bear as a name "The Dominican Republic," and that should have as its

motto this immortal device: "GOD, COUNTRY AND LIBERTY," which it still preserves on its beautiful national coat of arms.²

The founders of the society, in addition to Juan Pablo Duarte, were Juan Isidro Pérez, Pedro Alejandrino Pina, Félix María Ruiz, Benito González, Juan Nepomuceno Ravelo, Felipe Alfau y Bustamante, José María Serra and Jacinto de la Concha. With them and their ideas were affiliated Ramón Mella, Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, Pedro Antonio Bobea, Pedro Pablo de Bonilla and Epifanio Billini.

The Dominican people, which occupied the Spanish eastern part of the island of Santo Domingo or Haïti, bowed under the government and iron dictatorship of the military chiefs who exercised power in the republic of Haïti, was forced to bear silently the outrages and humiliations to which it was subjected, being treated as if it were of an inferior race by the underlings of Dictator-President Boyer. The Haitian people was entirely opposed, in blood, language, color, habits and idiosyncrasies, to the Dominican people, descended, as it was, from the Spaniards who were the colonizers and first settlers of the island, especially in this eastern part. The descendents of the Spaniards could not adapt themselves and submit to the Haitian government and customs. A strong revolutionary movement—the so-called reform revolution—sprang up in Haïti against the government of Boyer,

¹This society was called *La Trinitaria* (heart's ease or pansy) because when it was founded it consisted of nine charter-members who organized a triple base of three members each.

²José Gabriel García: *Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo*, volume I, third edition, page 170; Manuel Ubaldo Gómez: *Resumen de la historia de Santo Domingo*, book first, page 99 of the second edition.

and the Haitians were aided by the Dominicans, for political reasons. When the revolution triumphed, Boyer had to leave the island and go abroad. General Charles Herard'ain, who was no less despotic and authoritarian than his predecessor, rose to power.

INDEPENDENCE

While affairs stood thus in what is to-day the Dominican republic, there dawned, February 27, 1844, the day fixed by the Trinitaries to strike the blow that was to give life to a new nation. The municipality of San José de los Llanos, near the capital city, had the honor and the glory to be the first to rebel against the Haitian authority. Juan Ramírez, who declared for independence on the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, at the head of a band of patriots, encountered no opposition.

The Puerta del Conde was designated as the place in the city of Santo Domingo where the cry of independence was to be given. A Haitian garrison was stationed there, but its commander, Lieutenant Martín Girón, was committed to the separatists, who were aided also by the thirty-first and thirty-second regiments, composed in the main of young men in sympathy with their cause. At ten o'clock, on the night of the February 27 alluded to, there gathered a numerous body of young men, headed by Ramón Mella, Francisco del Rosario Sánchez,³ Manuel Jiménez, Vicente Celestino Duarte, Tomás Bobadilla, José Joaquín Puello, Jacinto and Tomás de la Concha, Remigio del Castillo, José María Serra, Félix María del Monte, Pedro Antonio Bobea, Benito González and Gabino Puello, with many others who were in charge of groups in different quarters and places, and they started toward the Baluarte del Conde, where, upon their arrival, the sergeant of the guard, Juan Gross, was minded to fire upon them, but he was restrained, however, by Lieutenant

Girón. The separatists took possession of the guard post without firing a shot, and they joined the band that was brought up at that moment from San Carlos by Eduardo Abreu.

There rose certain fears and hesitations among the separatists, due to the bad organization that existed, and the rising was on the verge of failure for the day, when Ramón Mella, at the moment of indecision, discharged his blunderbus. This act spread the alarm throughout the city and decided the cause of a revolution that was to produce the birth of a people into the light of liberty.

Says García:

In the act, the powder magazine, which was situated between the Baluarte del Conde and that of La Concepción, was taken, and, with the artillerists who were among those who had risen, Lieutenant Ángel Perdomo lined up the cannon mounted on the fort, set advance sentinels on all sides and took other measures that would enable them to maintain the defensive in case of being attacked, for as soon as the authorities observed the movement, they ran to La Fuerza, and called out the troops and began to take steps to put down the insurrection. Colonel Deó Herard,⁴ therefore, desiring to inform himself personally of its importance, attempted to reconnoiter, accompanied by some officers. As he was fired on, however, when he replied to the first "Who goes there?" he was obliged to return to La Fuerza, where a general alarm was immediately sounded, and the patrols marched out to go through the streets and aid in bringing together those who were in favor of supporting the government.⁵

A provisional government committee was formed and recognized. Afterward it became the central government committee that assumed charge of public affairs. It was made up of Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, Ramón Mella, Manuel Jiménez, Tomás Bobadilla, José Joaquín Puello and Remigio del Castillo. The reveille sounded as the messenger of liberty, and with its strokes and the firing of the alarm, the people awoke gay and full of joy, because on that memorable dawn a

³Up to February 27, Sánchez lay in hiding, for in the visit that the president, General Herard'ain, made to Santo Domingo in July, 1843, Sánchez was pursued by the president, as were also Duarte, Pina and Pérez. The last three embarked to go abroad, while Sánchez hid, and his friends gave out that he was dead and that he had been buried in the patio of the church of the Carmen, in order to save him from persecution.

⁴Colonel Deó Herard, the son of President Herard, and the commander of the national rural guard of Santo Domingo, who was left here by his father on the latter's last journey.

⁵José Gabriel García, *op. cit.*, page 228.

new state and the power of their sovereignty were proclaimed.

All the guard posts were occupied, including the captaincy of the port and marine, where there was one death, and it not necessary, for Sergeant Juan Isidro Gómez, commander of the customs guard, was already committed to the separatists. The Haitian forces were under the command of General Desgrotte.⁶ Being reduced to the space of the fortress, they comprehended that they were in a difficult position on account of the great gains the revolution had made during the night.

The following day, the twenty-eighth, Haitian authority, represented by General Desgrotte, capitulated through the mediation of the consul of France and by previous appointment of a commission by each of the two parties to arrange the terms of surrender. It was stipulated in them that there should be a definite surrender of the city on the following day, February 29.

• The principal leader in the revolution of independence, the eponymous hero of Dominican liberty, Juan Pablo Duarte, was absent from the country on the day that gave origin to the Dominican national epic: February 27, 1844. Being actively pursued by President Herard'ain during his visit to Santo Domingo, Duarte was forced to hide and then to flee. He sought safety upon the hospitable shores of Venezuela, the land of heroes and martyrs and of American freedom. Once there, while in Caracas, he undertook to learn if it would be possible to secure war supplies⁷—that he might carry out his

⁶General Henri Étienne Desgrotte was the acting commander of the city of Santo Domingo, left by President Herard, when he made his official visit to this city.

⁷Under date of November 15, 1843, Duarte was written to jointly by Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, and Vicente Celestino Duarte, his brother, by means of Buenaventura Freites, who was setting out for Caracas, and they said to him:

"Since your departure all the circumstances have been favorable, so that we have only lacked coöperation in order to strike the blow. At this date, affairs are in the same condition as that in which you left them. What we ask of you, even at the cost of a star from heaven, are the following: two thousand, a thousand or fifteen hundred muskets at least; four thousand cartridges, two or three quintals of powder,

laudable idea of independence—with the aid of General Carlos Soublete, at the time president of the republic. At the beginning, General Soublete offered him aid in his military enterprise, but he was prevented from keeping his promise by internal and perhaps external causes. After failing in his efforts to secure assistance, Duarte crossed over to Curazao where awaited him his companions in exile, Juan Isidro Pérez and Pedro Alejandrino Pina.

The central government committee, as one of its first acts, decided to send for Duarte and his companions, since Duarte had been the one who conceived the ideal that was beginning to be realized and had sacrificed his goods and his comfort to the cause of independence.⁸ For this purpose Juan Nepomuceno Ravelo, accompanied by numerous friends of the exile, was commissioned to go to Curazao in quest of Duarte. They left Santo Domingo on March 1, on board the Dominican schooner *Leonor*.

Such were the memorable deeds that gave rise to the independence of the Spanish part of the island of Santo Domingo, and which culminated in the creation of the Dominican Republic, in the same year of 1844.

five hundred lances or as many as you can get. In conclusion: the essential thing is help, however slight it may be; for this is the opinion of the larger part of those enlisted. . . . Jose Gabriel García."—*op. cit.*, page 224.

⁸Duarte, addressing his family from Curazao, announced "that by common consent he and his brother Vicente would offer upon the altar of the country what, as the price of love and hard work, he had inherited from his father," because "if the patria became free," he could take charge of the warehouse, and with the reputation he enjoyed and his knowledge of maritime affairs, he would build up the business and they would have no occasion to repent of having shown themselves to be worthy of their country. These honorable and admirable ideas of so great abnegation were heard read by Sánchez Mella and other patriots when they went to secure from the family the authorization to dispose of all Duarte's possessions in order to be able to make the projected pronouncement. The witnesses to this authorization were José Díez and Enrique Duarte, two of the nearest relatives. It made a noise among the others who were devoted to the national cause, and they imitated this striking example by contributing each one, according to his ability, for the purchase of powder and lead, the securing of weapons and the manufacture of cartridges."—José Gabriel García *op. cit.*, page 225.

LONG LIFE TO DON QUIJOTE!

BY

JACINTO CAPELLA

A scathing arraignment of the German spirit, which the author conceives to have been typified in Sancho Panza, and a tribute to the people of the United States, who, according to him, present anew the characteristics of don Quijote, the dreamer of dreams and follower of ideals, the righter of wrongs and chastiser of evil-doers; then follows a typical and whimsical comparison between the Spanish character, incarnation of don Quijote, and people of a different sort.—THE EDITOR.

IN CABLE despatches published some days ago in this newspaper, appears this very explicit statement:

The German government urgently entreats the government of the United States to send to Germany food substances without delay.

If I were a German, I should snatch the page of the newspaper in which this was published and cover my face with it to hide my shame.

The idea that a few days, almost a few hours, after the signing of the armistice, a cable should be sent to the power which until the day before was an enemy, begging it for food, is something so startling as to be incomprehensible to our Latin sentiment.

I am more than certain that if France had been beaten in the struggle, she would not have asked food of the enemy.

It is a thousand times better to die of hunger than to die of shame.

What, however, can be expected of a country that bottled up her squadron in Kiel, in order to avoid a fight, that assassinated stealthily from her submarine lairs, that as soon as she saw the allied armies were going to set foot on her territory, instead of defending herself as the other countries had defended themselves, turned to run and hastened to sign an armistice, and as soon as she signed it, began to beg, with double humiliation, because, to plead for mercy from an enemy is more degrading than to ask a favor of a comrade? The United States, obeying her rule of altruism, has consented to send provisions. This is the greatest victory that North America has won in the epilogue of the recent conflagration.

Passing from comment to comment,

I am convinced once more that neither all peoples nor all individuals are the same; that there are races and temperaments absolutely opposite in their manner of thinking and feeling; and therefore that certain men of talent lose their time when they undertake to make the world uniform by their very sane and admirable laws, because in practice they must fail of necessity.

Spaniards, for instance, are called Quijotes in derision, without any one's taking into account that this, which springs with contempt from the lips that pronounce it, is accepted by us as the highest of compliments. Quijotes, yes, Quijotes always, but when we have gone forth in quest of victory, either we have triumphed or we have not returned.

Quijotes at Numancia and Sagunto, at Gerona and Zaragoza, with Guzmán the Good and with Dadiz and Velarde, noble courtiers of the Knight of the Ideal, the mad adventurer, the gaunt hidalgo with the face of an ascetic, who, in those blessed times of *pravanas*¹ and *zarabandas*,² *jácaras*² and *chaconas*,² mounted upon the squalid Rocinante, made onslaught upon the sweeps of windmills and chastised rogues and highwaymen!

Eternal praise to our good father don Quijote, the great visionary who fared him forth in his day; for in that exhausted and corrupted century he went through towns and villages defending at the point of his lance that which has just triumphed on the fields of Europe: the cause of the weak and the oppressed, the right of justice and law.

This was Quijote, created by the young

¹Dances.—THE EDITOR.

²Songs.—THE EDITOR. ¶

fancy of the Prince of Geniuses, the soldier poet who enlisted in the galleys commanded by the bastard don Juan of Austria to fight the Turks of Selim, and who in the waters of the gulf of Lepanto, as the result of a wound, was bereft of his left hand.

Thus was don Quijote the glorious embodiment, who, in order not to lack anything of his immortality, was converted into an adjective, that it might serve all generations as an epithet of modesty and excess of shame.

This was our spiritual father, the soul of the whole race, that from the symphony of his life was formed in the hot womb of Spain, with blood of heroes and marrow of hidalgos, marrow of a substance so strong that as it passed through the vertebral column it made it impossible for it to bend.

It might break but never bend, because, although we have been protagonists of wars, some unpopular, if you will, we have always evinced our discipline and the high conception we held of national honor.

Germany, in the face of failure, divorces herself from the kaiser, and she riots and becomes anarchical.

Since it is a knowing people, why did it not become thus before ravaging Belgium and approaching the gates of Paris, to leave evidences of its villanies?

To-day the same Germans lay upon the execrable kaiser the blame for all that has happened; but how about the people who seconded him and the army that obeyed him?

In Spain, when the disaster of 1898 occurred, for which our unhappy rulers were to blame, and we returned from Cuba and the Philippines, it did not occur to us to create a revolution and tear down the throne. It seemed more patriotic to be more Spanish than ever, and that we should all unite and rebuild, upon the bitterness of disaster, the Spain of the future, a strong Spain, disciplined by experience, because we were convinced that our country was very much more important than the government. The peoples that in the moment of disbandment and poverty bend their knees and supplicate a foreign power: these are dead peoples.

They might be organized for commerce

and industry, for war and agriculture, but they are peoples without a heart, and, as said the illustrious Benavente:

When a heart is lacking, one must be invented, although it be with the head; because without a heart, it is impossible to live.

México, the land most divided by political ambitions and the most turbulent in America, when she beheld herself trodden under the iron heel of the invader, from the conquest down to our days—passing over the epoch of the emperor Maximilian—has always united, to a man, forgetting passions, to oppose the common enemy who attempted to rob her of her sovereignty with excuses more or less diplomatic, because sons from the wombs of their mothers and the dead from their tombs would cry out and would curse for ever those who, to avenge their personal grievances, provoked an intervention, thus delivering the patria to the stranger.

What would have happened to Spain, after the ultramarine defeat, if, in order to chastise the miserable work of our rulers, we had asked a foreign power, as a favor, to overthrow the government.

It would have been a protectorate, a body without a soul, an estate under mortgage to the master who had lent us the materials needed to shake off the yoke of a bad government; but to this master, throughout the long ages, we should have had to pay with blood, money and all manner of vexations, the interest on the loan that he had made us.

Therefore we, who are a people of experience, one that has passed through many phases of history, say at every moment that a bad national government is better than a foreign intervention: it is better to be a Quijote than to be his lackey.

Fortunately, however, as said the delicate Gallic writer, Maurice Barrès: "History begins now," and the great apostle Wilson, with his prophetic words, has guaranteed the future of America and the sovereignty of the weak.

The glorious author of the "league of nations," both in his manifestos and in his discourses, in the words which he addressed to the Mexican journalists and in the message which he sent to the chancellery of

London, when Lenine in Petrograd ordered imprisoned the secretaries of the English and French legations, a message that terminated by saying:

no country has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, whether it be large or small,

has demonstrated that he will never tolerate such an outrage, and that the United States would be the first nation to stand beside the people that might be oppressed by a foreign power.

See now how the illustrious President Wilson, with his categorical expression that no meddler, great or small, may dare to deny, turns out to be another Knight of the Ideal, because of his defense of weak countries and his love for justice.

Oh yes! Blessed be Quixotism, our semblance, our blazon, of which we are proud, which is not apparent, but which forms an integral part of our banner, that banner of my country which I love so well, and which on November 11 I kissed with unction, as I found no other adequate way in which to give expression to the

joy I felt in celebrating peace among men of good will.

After kissing it, I caused it to be placed at the foot of my sick bed, in order to be able to contemplate at every hour its magical colors of blood and gold.

Very red blood it was of the Catalán count, Wifredo the Hairy, which sprang from the wounds given him by the Normans: blood of Prim of Canalejas, which, like that of Christ, showed us the way of redemption.

Spanish blood, with which our country is so saturated that after having shed it in torrents upon the fields of battle, there still abounds some for watering the bull-rings of the country!

Red of rubies, red of pomegranates and sun-kissed cherries and strawberries and spreading carnations!

Gold of sun, gold of northern apples and Mediterranean oranges and Andalusian winds, gold of Castilian heads of wheat, gold of first purity, whose vein penetrates the heart of the chivalrous and always haughty race of Spain.



BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY AND THE WAR¹

BY

HÉCTOR DÍAZ LEGUIZAMÓN

The author, an Argentine, using certain portions of the Brazilian president's note to the friendly powers as a text, demonstrates that Brazil, both as a monarchy and a republic, has not only approved of the Monroe doctrine, as a general principle, but has steadily upheld Pan American solidarity, interdependence (and interaction); and he points out that if Brazil was slow to take steps, after the United States entered the combat, it was because of the attitude of one of her ministers, and not because of unfriendliness or moral indecision on the part of the nation.—THE EDITOR.

The republic recognized that one of the belligerents is an integral part of the American continent, and that we are bound to this belligerent by a traditional friendship and the same kind of political thinking, in defense of interests that are vital to America, and of the accepted principles of international law.

—*Note of President Wenceslau Braz to the friendly powers.*

WHETHER attempts to study the diplomacy of the South American governments during the war will have to lay the chief emphasis upon the part played by Brazil and her foreign office.

The republic unequivocally enunciated the rights of American neutrals. She undertook to defend them with vigor the moment these rights and the rules of international law were violated. This action undoubtedly thrust upon her the rôle of being the moral representative of this part of the continent and enabled her to vindicate again those lofty principles of law which an extraordinary turn of events identified with her larger economic and social interests, as well as with a closer union of the pacific members of the concert of nations.

Brazil took the first step in this direction when she assumed a resolute attitude, upon being notified of the unrestricted submarine warfare. This step, on the part of her foreign office, implied all the other facts that followed. It placed her

diplomatically upon a basis so broad and well defined that to have receded from it, in even the slightest degree, would have been to risk losing that favorable opinion, the loss of which, according to the high authority of Vergennes, is "the greatest of all losses."

In considering the brilliancy of a diplomatic action that was consistently and successfully carried through without blunders, we must now recognize how difficult of achievement it would have been, had not the citizens of Brazil been clearly aware of the development which has been made in the Monroe doctrine² and Pan Americanism, a development by which "a union of the American peoples for the attainment of common political and social ends" has been transformed, according to the clearly presented statement of Professor Sá Viana, into "a combination of forces destined to develop and promulgate, in behalf of humanity, new principles evolved in America."³

There are many questions that arise in any discussion of this theme, questions which, because of their complexity, may not be considered in the limited space at our disposal. Nevertheless, a brief recital of the more recent events of the diplomatic history of our sister republic Brazil will afford the opportunity of throwing into

²*De la non existence d'un droit international américain*, page 274.

³Witness to note of June 2, 1917, to the friendly powers: "If, up to the present, a lack of reciprocity among the American republics has robbed the Monroe doctrine of its true character and encouraged an interpretation based on mere force, actual events . . . continue to give our foreign policy the form of a practical continental solidarity."

¹A lecture given in the course of diplomatic law, in the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires, October 1, 1917.

bold relief the traditional ability and tact, combined with ample vision and a lofty morality, which are the prerequisites of democracy's foreign relations. A careful study on our part of the other methods of this school of diplomacy, which does away with fear and, instead, awakens emulation, must inevitably have the effect of tightening the moral bonds by which peoples are bound to peoples.⁴

The diplomatic documents emanating from the government of Brazil in 1917 manifest clearly a definite political conception: that of the political solidarity of the continent. What is more, they present a declaration of the mission of America at this historic moment,⁵ a declaration which, once accepted, Brazil must respect, as far as the measure of her power as a nation and the character of her institutions permitted. These purposes, as we shall see later, identify themselves, in the minds of Brazilian officials and legislators, with their political policy in the past, but in such a way that what was originally a rather vague conception of national interests takes on a definite and immediate significance. At this point it becomes necessary to explain these conceptions, to which, in the view of the diplomacy of both Brazil and the United States, it seemed not only opportune but imperative to subordinate all the interests that concerned the material development of their peoples.

From the beginning of the war, America recognized that on her rested the duty of seeing that the rights acquired by the international society of nations should be respected, even though she could not then foresee the event of actually having to make good her obligations. L. S. Rowe, the learned professor, declared, long before he had any thought of his own country's participation in the war:

⁴Nothing less than this was the intention of Professor José León Suárez in suggesting to me the present monograph. I give his own words: "We must abandon our mutual jealousies, struggle against them as unnecessary and fruitless, and encourage a better understanding between peoples, especially between two neighbors like Brazil and Argentina. Both of these may and must be rivals in a peaceful struggle of culture and progress; both must strive for superiority in civilization."

⁵Compare the note to the friendly powers, "at a critical moment in the history of the world."

It falls to the lot of America to achieve what Europe can not. The mission imposed upon these countries is so unmistakable that no one can fail to recognize it, and so exalted that it means nothing less than the justification to history of their existence as independent nations.⁶

He added:

The development of America during the first century of her independence demonstrates that to us was given, as one of the greatest privileges that history recognizes, the opportunity to begin a new era in international relations. This is more than a possibility, it is an obligation which can not be escaped. Not to fulfil it would be to defraud the hopes of humanity.⁷

The greatness of America lies in having declared war against war, sacrificing, or at least discounting, material gains in the presence of an ideal. Impelled by the force of democracy within her bosom and guided by the spirit of President Wilson, she has known how to go beyond the line of mere legal definitions that she might interpret the spirit of internationalism and become an executor of the ideals of humanity. Her strict observance of the law of nations has become the channel through which her moral contribution will find its way to enrich the whole field of civilization.

The United States, with her enormous wealth, her industrial and commercial prosperity and her resources in money and population, was by nature set apart to be the leading spirit of the continent, while, thanks to the Monroe doctrine, the other countries were in a position to coöperate in the common task in a manner worthy of their place and importance as nations.⁸

The entrance of the United States into the war, according to Professor Sá Vianna, "gave it its true significance and pointed out to all the free peoples an honorable and humane guide." From this moment the solidarity of the continent, considered as a means of accomplishing the mission of

⁶L. S. Rowe: *Problemas americanos: cuatro conferencias*, La Plata, 1915, page 53.

⁷*Ibidem*: page 55.

⁸Alejandro Álvarez: *Derecho internacional americano*, page 173: "the Monroe doctrine represents the interests of the whole continent;" and, page 179: "it is the manifestation of the will of the whole continent."

America, took the place of a neutrality which was impotent to achieve the ends that all desired.

II

The republic has strictly followed our political and diplomatic traditions and throughout has remained loyal to the liberal principles on which the nation was nurtured.

—*Note of President Wenceslau Braz to the friendly powers.*

Brazil has always aspired, through her diplomacy, to maintain a moral and political ascendancy in South America.

The monarchy, by preserving the country at the beginning from the anarchy and bloody civil strife of her neighbors, until she had achieved a stable internal organization, placed its foreign relations upon the soundest of bases. This branch of the government, by reason of its importance, became a sort of touchstone for measuring the capacity of the country's public men, a very school of diplomacy, characterized by an ability, a moderation and a prudence that were to be transmitted as a tradition from generation to generation. Brazilian authors, without distinction of party, are in entire accord upon this point.

Araujo Jorge mentions, as a well recognized fact:

The political supremacy and the moral prestige which the foreign office of the empire had secured for Brazil among the South American republics as a position achieved by its quick and vigorous action, always shaped by the purest considerations of law and justice.⁹

Doctor Helio Lobo, who was especially invited to make a series of addresses in Buenos Aires upon the diplomatic history and international law of Brazil, points out the following characteristics:

There has been no diplomacy finer in its purposes than that of Brazil. Whether under the empire or in the republic, it has always shown an unswerving honesty. Public papers or secret documents all breathe an elevated sense of international justice, whether they concerned relations with Europe or with America.¹⁰

"If there has persisted one firm, constant

⁹Araujo Jorge: *Historia diplomática do Brasil no regimen republicano* (1899-1902).

¹⁰*La Nación* of July 13, 1917.

and solemn principle in Brazilian policy," declared Senator Ruy Barbosa, in the senate on July, 1917, "it is that of sympathy for a cause unjustly oppressed, expressed by a protest in behalf of the weak assailed by the strong."

The eminent statesman Joaquim Nabuco, whose activities covered almost the whole reign of Pedro II, and to whose lot it was, in the trying hours between 1872 and 1875, to be, from his seat in the senate, the upholder of peace with our country, and of alliance and arbitration, declared that "the protest of Saraiva at the bombardment of Valparaíso would serve to disprove any suspicion that the empire did not recognize her solidarity with the rest of the continent on account of the difference in her institutions."

The war with Paraguay marks the high point in the foreign policy of the empire, according to writers whose impartiality may not be questioned. More even than the war itself, however, the alliance and the treaty of March, 1870, indicate a new crystallization in the relations of the peoples of South America.

After Nabuco himself, two men, great alike in thought and action and in their moral conceptions, were primarily responsible for this fruitful policy: a policy of which the influence upon the future can scarcely be fully realized by those of our day. These two men were Saraiva and Mitre. As to the first of them, it is thus that Nabuco expresses his sympathy:

We may say that it was due to Saraiva that the forces centered about the río de la Plata aligned themselves with the empire, instead of placing themselves in opposition to her. Our policy was favorably received at Buenos Aires more by reason of his sincerity, frankness and disinterestedness than because it had built up through many years a tactfulness and a restraint that have now become traditional. It was Saraiva who was in truth the bearer of a new message of peace and good will between Brazilians and Argentines. . . . Furthermore, as the outcome of Saraiva's mission it was made possible for Brazil to take up her rôle of a disinterested defender of civilization and liberty in South America: a rôle that was recognized even to the río de la Plata, except by such as were incapable of overcoming their prejudices against or their aversion to the empire.

Nabuco adds:

Viewed in the light of its practical results, the treaty of March, except for which there would probably have been no alliance, must be regarded as an inspired stroke of political imagination, of confidence in the good intentions of the contracting nations, or—what is the same thing—in human nature: an act, as it were, of faith in modern civilization itself.¹¹

The republican statesman Quintino Bocayuva, in his letter written to Héctor Varela in 1896, attributes no less importance to the policy of this alliance:

The alliance with the two peoples of the Plata was not conceived by our political leaders nor approved of by the nation for the sake of the material aid that would come to us through the support of their armies, however valuable and effective that might be. The alliance delighted us and it was received with joy because it was a moral victory, because it was a solemn and official proof that the government had committed itself to a policy frankly and loyally American, thereby breaking definitely with those tendencies which might have carried it in the opposite direction. . . . the only policy that seems to me to guarantee the triumph of American liberty, democracy and fraternity.

In any study of the diplomatic documents of Brazil during the war, we find the traditional orientation of Brazilian diplomacy again and again referred to as a precedent. We can not avoid seeing the connection between this attitude and the influence of such men as Pedro II and Saraiva, whose policy of Americanism has come to be the political doctrine of the continent. Not less significant of the solidarity of the continent was the foresight of such men as Nabuco and Quintino Bocayuva.

III

Fulfilling thus our duty and taking for Brazil the stand made inevitable by her history and her devotion to the ideal of free peoples.

—*Note of President Wenceslau Braz to the friendly powers.*

Thanks to her intelligent jurists, Brazil may pride herself upon having taken quickly the highest moral stand toward the war. Happily, national exigencies are not sub-

jects to which her chancellery is indifferent. On the contrary, at the opportune moment, the foreign office determined to put its ideals into practice and to throw the weight of its diplomacy on the side of continental solidarity.

Observation shows that to every policy of state there comes, at some time, the necessity of expressing itself in a new and dynamic form, by throwing off the cramping conceptions which prevailed at its birth. The minister of foreign relations, Doctor Nilo Peçanha, in his statement of July 29,¹² which revoked the declaration of neutrality toward the allied nations of Europe, summed up effectively the facts which we shall study. "The acts of the government on this occasion," he said, "demonstrated that Brazil had approached Europe by a curve that passed through the United States." He indicated also that the government would be actuated by its international policy of the past, and he added:

The government has not lost sight of the cause that precipitated the conflict between the United States and Germany, that is, the violation of the liberty and free commerce of neutral nations, which the German note that announced the unrestricted submarine campaign arbitrarily destroyed.

Our attitude is revealed in the new decree, and it is a logical consequence of the position in which we are placed, now that the conflagration has directly touched America. The movement toward the support of the policy of the United States, entered upon by Brazil with the loftiest sentiments of continental solidarity, has become a union of all America.

The causes which thrust the United States into the armed conflict were the same as those that determined our attitude of sympathy and support toward the nation traditionally our friend. Under these circumstances, it was logical that sooner or later we should find ourselves side by side with those European nations that stand for the same causes and the same ideals as we ourselves.

These fundamental principles are, indeed, the same as those expressed in the message of the president to the Camaras, which presented clearly the point of view of the government. We have already seen how the international policy of Brazil in the past concerned itself with the ideals

¹¹Joaquim Nabuco: *A guerra do Paraguay.*

¹²*La Nación*, July 29, 1917.

of peace and humanity and with the principles of liberty and democracy, as well as with that conception of a fraternity of American nations toward which tended the policies of General Mitre and Saraiva.

It was reserved to Doctor Nilo Peçanha, in collaboration with the executive and a council of notables, to give at the present hour the most palpable form to the unity of the entire continent and to throw all its weight on the side of the policy of the United States. "Doctor Nilo Peçanha," said the *Jornal do Commercio*, in a editorial of May 24, 1917, "with the support of the president of the republic and with the applause of the unanimous Brazilian nation, declared, upon taking up his new duties, that his policy, the policy of Wenceslau Braz, the policy of Brazil, would be frankly American."

According to the same source of information, "Doctor Lauro Müller, blinded by an ideal of purely South American solidarity, did not carry out with the necessary enthusiasm Brazil's traditional policy of friendship for and harmony with the United States, in such a way as to permit of a solution of Brazil's diplomatic situation in a manner that accorded with that of the great republic of the north." This *ex post facto* explanation, as witnessed by the date on which it was written, was intended to affect public opinion favorably toward the abandonment of neutrality toward the United States, and it indicates more or less precisely the discrepancy between the minister, Lauro Müller, and his government, in the situation brought about by events. It is undeniable that the chancellor of the A. B. C., to whom it fell, in the discharge of his duties, to sign the note of protest of February 9, 1917, was not so consistent in his attitude as might have been expected. The doctrine upheld in the official documents, with the authority of the best known international jurists, namely that the breaking off of relations does not necessarily imply the abandonment of neutrality, is a clear indication of the division between the policy of Doctor Lauro Müller and that of his successor. It is the policy of the former that explains the decree number 12,458, of April 25, 1917, dealing with the neutrality of Brazil

while a state of war existed between the United States of America and Germany. This decree was issued, according to the terms employed in the presidential message presented to the congress on May 23, in spite of the fact that diplomatic and commercial relations with Germany were already suspended, and it followed the general provisions that had obtained up to that time, in obedience to the decree number 11,137 of August 4, 1914, which embodied the conditions of the conventions signed by Brazil at the Hague relative to the rights and duties of neutral powers. The message adds, however, that the decree failed to make use of the terms which had been employed in previous acts of this nature and it limited itself to instructing the authorities to observe and comply with the rules of neutrality, until the contrary should be ordered.

On the other hand, the revocation of this agreement enabled the Brazilian government to manifest in no uncertain manner the real purpose of its subsequent acts, and to put an end to the temporary inconsistency in which it had shown, "deviations from its traditional policy,"¹³ to judge by the language of the press, which had arisen because the whole policy of Brazil during the war grew out of the attitude taken in the presence of the submarine blockade, or, to employ the expression of Doctor Nilo Peçanha, whose clearness of vision equals his generosity of judgment, "it is the logical consequence of the position in which Brazil found herself after the conflagration had reached America."¹⁴

¹³*Jornal do Commercio*, May 24, 1917.

¹⁴Commenting on the note of protest of February 9, the well founded opinion of the committee on diplomacy and treaties of the Camara, as formulated by Doctor Alberto Sarmento (see the *Jornal do Commercio* of May 4), says the following: "When Germany declared the blockade of February, we made our protest without delay, in the notes of the ninth and thirteenth of the same month, because we considered the blockade contrary to the general principles of the law of peoples and subversive of international customs and practices. . . . It was sufficient that a single detail of this law should be violated in the person of any one of the international entities for all to consider themselves equally attacked. The rights of one alone are at the same time the rights of all. This must inevitably be deduced from the universal postulate that established the freedom of the sea as an indispensable guaranty not only of the expansion of economic life, but also of that great

On May 23, President Wenceslau Braz presented to the congress the message the beginning of which we have transcribed above. In this he advised the revocation of the decree of neutrality in the conflict between the United States and Germany. This message indicates, as the fundamental purpose of the resolution of the Camara, the affirmation of the happy intelligence that there must exist between Brazil and the United States "a policy of continental solidarity: a policy not merely of this period of government or of this regimen, but the traditional policy of the Brazilian nation." The Brazilian nation will be able, through its legislative branch, to affirm, without warlike intentions, but with firmness, that

one of the belligerents is an integral part of the American continent and to this belligerent we are bound by a traditional friendship and by the same political sentiments concerning the defense of vital American interests and the principles accepted by international law.

This has ever been the attitude of Brazil. The republic remains loyal to the uninterrupted tradition of its foreign policy, and she may not today repudiate the ideals that inspired the note of protest of the imperial Brazilian government, on May 15, 1866, when a European squadron bombarded a South American city. Our feeling was, even at that time, that the nations of the continent—a continent where the wealth and population are spread along coasts so extended and without natural defense—require more than any other group of nations the maintenance of the highest form of civilization, which will be their first and strongest protection.

approximation between races without which the upward march of humanity would be gravely prejudiced. Zealous as we are in defense of our rights in all their integrity, we may not remain indifferent to the threat of their restriction or to an attack upon any one of them. It is for this reason that we make without delay our formal and reiterated protest against the declaration of a *mare clausum* launched by the German empire against neutrals and belligerents alike, without distinguishing between them."

The note of protest was followed by a statement of the routes of the merchant vessels then at sea, and on February 27, in a telegram to the Brazilian minister at Berlin, Doctor Lauro Müller declared that Brazil considered a due respect for its note of protest, in the face of the blockade, essential to the maintenance of diplomatic relations with Germany. (*Jornal do Commercio* of May 24). When the *Paraná* was torpedoed and fired upon by a German submarine, the government broke off diplomatic and commercial relations with Germany and took over the German ships interned in Brazilian harbors. This was the situation up to the time when the ministry changed.

This last part of the message was the very thesis of Councilor Saraiva when he protested against the bombardment of Valparaíso and identified, even at that day, the cause of America with that of right and civilization. There could be nothing more opportune than the adoption of this Brazilian and American thesis by the government, with the purpose of defining the humanitarian goal of its policy and its diplomacy.

The intention of the government, as conveyed in this message, is made fully evident in the note which the president of the republic communicated on July 4 to the friendly powers, by the revocation of the decree of neutrality and by the bill voted by the congress and sanctioned by the executive. This note, presented on June 5, to the Argentine chancellery by the Brazilian chargé d'affaires, contains the same fundamental principles, set forth with the same loftiness and precision.¹⁵

¹⁵The note ran as follows: "The president of the republic charges me with the duty of communicating to the government of your excellency the fact that he has just sanctioned a law revoking the neutrality of Brazil in the war between the United States of North America and the German Empire.

"The republic has recognized, in consequence, that one of the belligerents is an integral part of the American continent, and that we are bound to this belligerent by a traditional friendship and by the same manner of political thinking, in the defense of interests which are vital to America and of the accepted principles of international law.

"Brazil never had, and has not now, warlike ambitions; but although she abstained from any partiality in the European conflict, she could no longer remain indifferent to it when the United States was drawn into the struggle without other interests at stake than those of international law and order, and when Germany extended to us and to the other neutral countries the most violent consequences of war.

"If, up to the present, a lack of reciprocity among the American republics has robbed the Monroe doctrine of its true character and encouraged an interpretation based on mere power, actual events, by placing Brazil now at the side of the United States in a critical moment of the world's history, continue to give our foreign policy the form of a practical continental solidarity: a policy which was also that of the old régime, whatever the attitude of the sister or friendly nations of the continent may have been.

"The republic has strictly followed our political and diplomatic traditions and it has remained loyal to the liberal principles on which the nation was nurtured.

"Fulfilling thus our duty and taking for Brazil the stand made inevitable by her history and by devotion to the ideal of free peoples, whatever may be the events which we may expect to-morrow, we will guard the constitution that guides us, than which there is none that has guaranteed fuller protection to the law, life and property of aliens.

"In bringing to the attention of your excellency the

The note referred to sums up with eloquence and conciseness the motives of policy and diplomacy and the facts of an international character that determined the stand of the Brazilian government. In a part of its text, it enunciates the compelling legal reasons which lifted Brazil out of her neutrality into a continental solidarity, that is, into participation with the United States in the war "without any other interests at stake than those of international law and order."

Elsewhere the note refers to the evolution in the Monroe doctrine, which "in its true character" makes possible the continental solidarity which, in turn, is the condition of Pan Americanism, called upon just now to play its rôle "in a critical moment of the world's history." Pan Americanism existed in actual fact from the moment the new continent, as a united whole, counterpoised the Old World, just as Canning had prophesied. It is necessary, however, that this continental solidarity assume a practical, that is, a positive form. Brazil believes that this continental solidarity ought to be brought into the light of day in order that it may issue from the realm of theories and aspirations into the realm of reality.

The Brazilian government bases its action on its traditional policy and diplomacy, by which it had to interpret the past as being clearly marked with meaning for the present and as an imposer of duties not to be escaped. At other times, this word "tradition" signified inertia, a clinging for vested formulas. In relation to an American nation, it can be conceived only in terms of a moral heritage which goes to waste unless it be put at interest as an active force in full development and powerful in its effects: such is the tradition invoked by the documents we are examining.¹⁶

resolution that precedes, I have the honor, by order of the president of the republic, to ask to be the interpreter to your government of the sentiments of invariable friendship of the people and government of Brazil."

¹⁶The response sent by the president of the republic on July 4 to the cable message of President Wilson expresses even more clearly the ideal of Americanism, as Sá Vianna expounds it: "As in the case of the great North American nation, we are not moved to

On May 27, there came to the Brazilian government fuller information concerning the sinking of the *Tijuca* in the Mediterranean. In view of this, the president of the republic addressed a second message to the congress, advising the utilization of the German merchant ships which were in the hands of the treasury department. In its session of the twenty-ninth, the Camara discussed the proposal formulated by the committee on diplomacy in respect of the revocation of the decree of neutrality. Submitted to a vote, this was approved by a hundred thirty-six ayes to three noes.

On the same day, the committee on diplomacy and treaties held two secret meetings, listening to the opinion of the chairman, the senhor Augusto de Lima, on the subject of the measures advised by the president in his second message. After a prolonged discussion, in which were considered the burdens the war might impose upon the national finances, it was resolved that a vote authorizing the government to utilize the German ships should be added to the decree that revoked the decree of neutrality.

On June 1, in a session of the senate presided over by Senator Urbano Santos, forty-eight members being present, the committee on constitution and diplomacy of this house read its opinion in which it advised the acceptance of the pro-

this step by passion or self-interest, but by a desire of an international legal order, by the necessity for defending those principles which, if they are in danger in the Old World, require protection and stability among the free peoples of the Americas."

The opinion read on July 26, in the secret meeting of the committee on diplomacy and treaties of the Camara said, among other things: "by one who has followed with care the evolution of international life among the peoples of the past century, it will not have passed unnoticed how, among the civilized nations of the globe, there have been concluded alliances, secret pacts, ententes or approximations, now for the protection of economic interests, now for the maintenance of political security and for mutual assistance in case of aggressions. In general, it was a sense of the approximation resulting from affinities and common continental interests that brought about the conclusion of these agreements.

"Under these circumstances, it is not out of place for us to examine the subject through this lens, studying the motives which we have for putting ourselves in close touch with the United States, more especially since these motives transcend the selfish limits of continental policy and concern themselves, by a gesture of splendid altruism, with the defense of the great humanitarian principles."

posal sent up to it by the lower house. The bill was then approved by forty-five votes to one vote. Two senators abstained from voting.

In this memorable session of the senate, Ruy Barbosa delivered his long and weighty discourse. Not for a single instant did he descend from the lofty heights which are, as it were, the atmosphere in which exist the ideas of this thinker and statesman according to whom "this war concerns, not commercial strugglers between nations that dispute the supremacy of the economic world, but, far more profoundly, the fortune, the existence and the future of the great fundamental principles of civilization."

He went on to show in his exposition that a second phase of the conflict began with the acts of Germany which forced the United States to accept a state of war, and that Brazil herself could take no other stand in the face of the same emergency. Ruy Barbosa seemed to dissent from the legal point of view of the Brazilian government whose fundamental principles he accepted, however, as meeting the actual exigencies of Americanism, while recognizing, perhaps, that both points of view are included in the ground covered by Sá Vianna. The revocation of neutrality that would have pleased Ruy Barbosa would have been one toward all the allied countries. According to his way of looking at solidarity with the United States, Brazil's act does not justify itself merely because the United States represents interests peculiarly American, but more especially because the United States assumed an attitude which combined the special interests of the continent with those of humanity itself.

The acts of the Brazilian government

that followed are already known. On June 29, President Wenceslau Braz promulgated the decree revoking neutrality toward the rest of the allied countries.¹⁷

The policy of Brazil won the applause of the opinion of America manifested by the peoples and by the governments of the various republics. Her act was evidently considered an inspiration leading toward a definite conception of the solidarity of the American nations.

We have before us here the diplomacy, past and present, of a South American country which, like the Venice of another age, "believing less in particular men than in the body and methods of its foreign policy," has supplied us with an invigorating example and an expression of ideas so nobly conceived that they throw around us an atmosphere of lofty calm and beauty. We may present these facts as a triumph of intelligence and skill placed at the service of the patriotism and dignity of a nation.

We may place at the end of this brief study the words of Senator Ruy Barbosa, which sooner or later must be remembered by all the nations of South America:

If the weak lack the strength of arms, let them arm themselves with the might of their rights, with the affirmation of law, by making for it all the sacrifices necessary in order that the world may not deny them the character of entities worthy of existence in the international community.¹⁸

¹⁷The text of the decree follows: "The president of the republic, using the power conferred on him by the constitution, and in accordance with the resolution adopted by the national congress, on the first day of the current month, resolves to declare without effect the decrees which ordered the maintenance of neutrality in the war of France, Russia, Great Britain, Japan, Portugal and Italy against the German empire. Signed—Wenceslau Braz, Nilo Peçanha."

¹⁸The session of June 1, 1917.



A MORAL CATECHISM FOR AMERICANS

BY

JOSÉ SIXTO DE SOLA¹

After commenting upon the imperative need of interamerican acquaintanceship, particularly on the intellectual and moral side, with emphasis on the general ignorance that exists, even among the countries of Spanish speech, regarding each other, the author, as a means of spreading information, devotes himself to an analysis of *El hombre mediocre*, the book that made the reputation of José Ingenieros; those who do not have access to this work will find the article very helpful, and those who are acquainted with it will appreciate the illuminating exposition of one of the most striking books produced in America.—THE EDITOR.

I
WE MEN of America do not know each other. The nations of Spanish America have lived and struggled for a long time without concerning themselves with one another, except to ventilate their rivalries or settle some vexed question of boundaries or frontiers. They resemble a populous and remote quarter of a great capital whose ways of communication, all parallel and leading to the city, offer poor facilities for the communication of the several parts between themselves.

The America we call Latin, the language being the only thing Latin about it, is that extreme quarter. Europe is the great capital. All our lines of intellectual and social communication have been established between America and Europe. Communication between the different countries of America could not be more difficult than it is.

As to Cuba and the other countries of middle America, because of geographical proximity, the new commercial currents of the later years and the continuous and mutual interchange of travelers, they have, to a certain extent and in no large measure, enjoyed the advantage of the intellectual market of the great Saxon republic of the north.

¹The author of this article, the editor of *Cuba Contemporánea*, was one of the most eminent writers of the new generation. A few days after publishing these pages, he died suddenly. We reproduce them in honor of his memory, violating the rule which has prevented the publication in the *Revista de Filosofía* of any article eulogistic of its director and his scientific works.—The Editor of *Revista de Filosofía* (Doctor José Ingenieros.)

The North Americans, very wisely and, naturally with utilitarian motives of their own, but which are so also for the other American countries, and therefore very laudable, attempt, in Pan American movements, which are revealed in conventions, like the very important scientific congress now being held, in institutions, magazines, books, diplomatic missions, newspaper campaigns and demonstrations of all kinds, to draw together the American countries commercially, intellectually and politically.

If the edifice of this harmony is to rest upon bases as magnificent as those set forth by Secretary of State Lansing, in announcing the principle that what is fundamental in North American international law is respect for the political independence and the present territories of the democracies of the New World, it will be a structure which no earthquake will be strong enough to overthrow, where are sheltered beneath a safe roof the best interests of America, and whence will issue the strongest and most effective safeguards against the possible attacks of the remotely ancient nationalities of Europe and Asia.

To adopt this principle as the beginning of the effort would be to destroy the most serious obstacle: distrust.

It is true that the Monroe doctrine has been an effective protector of the half-defenseless, half-organized South and Central American republics; but they, on their part, have felt a grave distrust of the ultimate intentions of the protector.

The statesmen of the north know this,

and it looks as if they desire to have demonstrated their good faith and their intention definitely to respect the new nationalities, and to establish the fact in a solemn manner. They have chosen this opportunity, which is that from which, because of the war in Europe, they may derive the greatest benefit by the removal of this distrust. Since, however, in benefiting themselves they benefit us, we of the Hispano-American countries ought to seize the opportunity and obtain from it, with tact and firmness, the greatest possible advantage.

If we secure the express recognition of and permanent respect for the nationalities with their territories, we shall have advanced a long step on the road to our collective happiness. A threat of national disappearance hardly leaves room for reaping the advantages of political independence.

Progress in this direction would then be rapid.

We Americans ought to fall back upon ourselves. We are beholding what ancient Europe is: a maelstrom of infinite and iniquitous ambitions. There the small countries, although they are protected by the august hand of justice, are submerged. If too they exist by combinations of greater interests, every now and then some giant neighbor crosses their borders and tightens the collar on their necks until they are left livid, helpless, as shapeless and deformed protests against the harsh sway of brute force.

Let us strive for the touch of elbows in order to resist force with force. For this, however, congresses and alliances are not sufficient. We must not only give greater unity to our interests, but we ought also to seek greater unity in our thought, in the thought of America.

To this end we must abandon the policy of oyster-nations, shut in their shells, or that of nations which are only in communication with Europe.

There are not lacking ways of communication by land and water between the American republics. Let the national congresses grant facilities and subventions for such enterprises. Let commercial treaties be celebrated that will give protection in the tariff systems to the merchan-

dise of America at the expense of the merchandise of Europe and Asia. Let postal conventions be signed in order that between the American countries there may circulate correspondence, periodicals and books with the least cost, and that in all the custom-houses of our nations this undertaking may be assisted by permitting free entry, without any duties whatsoever, to all kinds of books and periodicals. Let commercial and agricultural expositions be held, and let there be sent to them the exports of the different countries; let scientific, economic and juridical congresses be held; let the writers of each country make known their productions to the other countries; let there be established many organs in which the American spirit shall find a proper expression, such as *La Revista de América*, of the illustrious Peruvian, Francisco García Calderón, was, and our *Cuba Contemporánea* and other publications of the continent are.

We need, above all, that the public of every country should read and know the great intellectual productions, the great works, of the great men of the American countries.

All or almost all that I have indicated is still to be done or is in its early stages; but in the last respect, the advance has been distressing, and up to the present there has been upon the horizon no gleam of hope.

Here, in Cuba, apart, naturally, from the limited group of our men of letters and writers, who, because of their special inclinations, possess a culture that includes a larger number of works and countries, what does the public—not the ignorant public, as it knows nothing about anything—but the great public which we term cultured, the public that reads, know about the great writers of Latin America?

A not very great part of this public may have heard of names like those of Bello, Olmedo, Rufino José Cuervo, Sarmiento, Alberdi, Juan Montalvo, José Asunción Silva, Rodó, Bunge, José Ingenieros² and many more.

²Every one of these writers has figured either in the columns or the biographical notes of *INTER-AMERICA* (English) during its brief career, with the exception of the distinguished Colombian poet,

Only a very narrow group, however, has perhaps had the opportunity to know the masterpieces of any of these great writers mentioned.

To look for a group that is acquainted, not only with a few of these principal works, but that knows the complete literary productions of the chief writers of America, as French and Spanish works are known, is a useless task. It does not exist.

Let it not be thought that in this respect we are worse off in Cuba than in the other countries. Quite on the contrary, we may boast of being one of the most cultured nations of the America that was Spanish. A thousand proofs, which are aside from the subject, might be advanced in support of our assertion.

No; in Cuba we are better acquainted with the literary productions of the rest of America than the other peoples are with ours, which, in most cases, are not inferior to the best.³

In Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and all Latin America it may be said that there is general ignorance as to who José Antonio Saco⁴ was, although this most famous Cuban wrote an immortal work, his *Historia de la esclavitud* (History of Slavery), and fundamental and cyclopean essays upon his country. Heredia⁵ is

José Asunción Silva, who was born in Bogotá, in 1861, and who died in 1896: the author of many notable poems, published under the title of *Poesías*, Barcelona, 1908.—THE EDITOR.

³Being somewhat acquainted with the literary productions of all the American countries, we are pleased to testify and to say that this is not an idle boast.—THE EDITOR.

⁴A distinguished journalist and statesman (1797-1879) and one of the leading philosophers and writers of his time; he spent some years in exile, returning in 1861; he was the director of the *Revista y Repertorio Bimestre de la Isla de Cuba*; the full title of his chief work is *La supresión del tráfico de esclavos en la isla de Cuba: ideas de historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*.—THE EDITOR.

⁵José María Heredia was born in Santiago (1803-1839): at the age of eighteen he published his *Ensayos políticos*; later he visited México, studied law in Habana and established himself as a member of the bar of Puerto Príncipe; involved in a patriotic conspiracy in 1823, he was banished, and he sought refuge in the United States; later he went to México and was made minister of Audiencia by President Victoria; during all these years he cultivated his gift of poetry; while he wrote such a work as *Lecciones sobre la historia natural*, he was a poet through and through, and the great reputation he acquired in his brief career is based upon such masterpieces as *Al Niágara*, *Al océano*, *En el teocalli de Cholula*, etc.—THE EDITOR.

a little better known, through his magnificent ode *Al Niágara*, because poetry is more expansive than prose. There is ignorance regarding the remarkable works of Felipe Poey,⁶ basic and definitive, with which he has enriched American ichthyology. If it is known that Carlos Finlay⁷ discovered how yellow fever is transmitted, it is because his stroke of genius made it possible to cut America into two pieces at the isthmus of Panamá. It is not known that our tribunals have had such a colossus as Montoro,⁸ and barely that Enrique José Varona⁹ caused his philosophical studies to reach a notable level in the period in which he produced them. Martí¹⁰ is known because he, as the apostle of our liberty, in a holy crusade in behalf of the downtrodden patria, made the rounds of America, flaming and eloquent. The names of Maceo¹¹ and Máximo Gómez,¹² our warriors, are not unknown, because our island was too small to hold such names; but, on the other hand, there is ignorance regarding the names of Félix Varela, José de la Luz Caballero, Domingo del Monte, Betancourt Cisneros, Pozos Dulces, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, Luaces,

⁶He was born in Habana (1799-1891); he was a professor in the Facultad de Ciencias of the university; he spent much time in France, where he put his collections of fishes and drawings at the disposition of Cuvier and de Valenciennes; he published *Lepidópteros de Cuba*, *Ictiología cubana*, *Geografía de Cuba*, *Tratado de mineralogía*, etc.—THE EDITOR.

⁷Charles John Finlay, born in Puerto Príncipe, December 3, 1838, of English parents; he was graduated from the Jefferson Medical college, Philadelphia, in 1855; in 1881, he originated and to an extent demonstrated the theory of the transmission of yellow fever by the mosquito (*Stegomyia fasciata*).—THE EDITOR.

⁸Rafael Montoro was a statesman and a man of letters.—THE EDITOR.

⁹See INTER-AMERICA for June, 1918, biographical data, page 258, and *Links from the Chain*, page 317.—THE EDITOR.

¹⁰José Martí: see INTER-AMERICA for October, 1918, page 22.—THE EDITOR.

¹¹General Antonio Maceo (1848-1896), born in Santiago, was one of the principal generals of the insurrections of 1868 and 1895, fighting by the side of Máximo Gómez and Martí with great courage and distinction; he was killed in an encounter with the troops of Cirujeda, near Punta Brava.—THE EDITOR.

¹²General Máximo Gómez y Baez, the Cuban patriot, is so well known throughout the world that we confine ourselves to giving but the place and date of his birth, Baní, Santo Domingo, 1836, and the date of his death, June 17, 1905.—THE EDITOR.

Milanés, Bachiller y Morales, J. Ignacio de Armas, Piñeyro, Sanguilly,¹³ etc., etc.

Here in Cuba may be observed a certain movement of greater interest in the intellectual products of America. The reviews solicit and publish the writings of Americans, in addition to those of our own nationals, and the public reads these works with interest and pleasure. The dealers bring every day more American books—those written by Americans being understood as such—and every day they have a better sale.

When the public has once entered upon this road, it will surely not abandon it. Whoever reads, for example, Montalvo's¹⁴

¹³José de la Luz Caballero (1800-1862), a philosopher, born in Habana, educated as a lawyer, a great linguist, the founder of a college and the educator of many distinguished Cubans.

Domingo del Monte y Aponte, a humanist, poet and bibliographer, born in Caracas, Venezuela (1804-1854): he lived in Cuba from his childhood; deeply learned and of sound literary taste, under his shadow were formed a number of the later representative poets.

Gaspar Betancourt Cisneros (1803-1866), a poet and man of letters, born in Puerto Príncipe: called the *Lugareño* (Villager).

Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, a noted poet, born in Puerto Príncipe, March 23, 1814: precocious, like Heredia and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, she early manifested her vocation; in 1836 she went to Spain, and in 1839 she published in *La Aureola*, a newspaper of Cádiz, her verses, with the pseudonym of "La Peregrina" (The Wanderer); she spent some years in Andalucía and then established herself in Madrid; after many years in Spain, she returned to America with her second husband, Domingo Verdugo; she died in Madrid, February 1, 1873; there have been many editions of her poems.

Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, a poet, was born in Habana, July 21, 1826, and he died on November 7, 1867; he began the study of law, but he gave it up and devoted himself to literature.

The poet José Jacinto Milanés was born in Matanzas, August 16, 1814, and he died November 14, 1863, leaving a notable literary heritage.

Bachiller y Morales was a bibliographer and antiquarian.

Juan Ignacio de Armas was an anthropologist and writer (1842-1870); he was a member of a number of learned societies and a correspondent of the Real Academia de la Historia, of Spain; among his most important works are *Estudios sobre los cráneos caribes*; *Estudios sobre el lenguaje criollo*; *Estudios sobre las etimologías de la Academia*.

Manuel Sanguilly y Garrit, born in 1849, was a soldier and man of letters who played an important part in the struggles for independence; he represented his country in the Hague Peace Conference of 1907; he has served as secretary of state, editor of the *Revista Cubana*, founder and director of the magazine, *Hogaz Literarias*; he is the author of many historical works.—THE EDITOR.

¹⁴See INTER-AMERICA for October, 1918, page 44, note 1.—THE EDITOR.

Siete tratados (The Seven Treatises); Rodó's¹⁵ *Motivos de Proteo*; Alberdi's¹⁶ *Grandes y pequeños hombres del Plata* (Great and Small Men of the Plata); Bunge's¹⁷ *Nuestra América*; the poems of José Asunción Silva; and *El hombre mediocre* of José Ingenieros, must of necessity search the American intellectual mart in order to continue to supply his mind and his spirit with the useful and the pleasing.

If all those who read any of these or other American books that attract their attention would write their personal impressions, in order to make them known, they would coöperate in the intellectual drawing together of the American peoples, so beneficial and necessary, to which I referred at the beginning of this article.

It is because I hold this opinion that I desire to write something about the magisterial work of Ingenieros, giving a personal impression, a rapid one, penned with a desire to bring the book to the attention of persons among us who may not have read it, without the least pretense of preparing a criticism, inasmuch as I understand, like Ingenieros himself, how mean would be the criticism in which the critic were not, as in the present case, up to the level of what is criticized. ✓

II

El hombre mediocre of José Ingenieros is a notable book. It is a profound book, in a brilliant form that is unmistakable. In reading it, it produces the effect of a powerful brain in intense mental ebullition, covered with a mantle of gold filigree incrustated with precious stones and shining stars. A lover of beauty can read it; he will be captivated by the prose, beautiful and vigorous, vibrating and sonorous, in which it is written from beginning to end. A mind seeking guidance and truth can read it; it will find there the religion of the lofty, without fetishes or gods, which is

¹⁵See INTER-AMERICA for October, 1917, page 22, and biographical data, page 64; INTER-AMERICA for April, 1918, biographical data, page 194, and page 197; INTER-AMERICA for October, 1918, page 44.—THE EDITOR.

¹⁶See INTER-AMERICA for October, 1917, page 74, note 2.—THE EDITOR.

¹⁷See INTER-AMERICA for December, 1918, biographical data, page 66, and page 98.—THE EDITOR.

alone inspired in the true reasoning of a great brain and the feeling of a great soul, brought into intimate contact and intimate study with themselves and with the environment that surrounds them.

In reading it, one must think and think deeply and on many things that the reader will recognize as his, without being aware that they existed in his mind. It is a book that produces on the brain of the reader the effect of a blow with a ruler upon a dusty cushion. Ideas that lay dormant and inert spring up, stir and mingle in a confused tumult, to become aligned and orderly afterward, stronger and better than before, and, above all, with more knowledge of their own existence and more confidence and faith in their power and truth.

In writing this book, the first task which the author must surely have set himself was that of an introspective study, in order to describe the contrast. No one who did not possess "the mysterious springs of the ideal," who was not a "visionary of perfection," could write such a book.

To drop so enormous a weight upon our bent shoulders, it would necessary be to be set on the heights. Studying himself, the author must have described the opposite qualities by contrast with his own. There must have come afterward the prolonged study of some mediocrity or group of mediocrities, to confirm the results of his inductions.

Ingenieros might have written his book seated in the midst of some Hispano-American congress: looking at himself and looking about him.

Thus he would have had the complete material, the extremes of the scale: Quijote and Sancho; the idealist who moves societies, and the mediocrity who sees on a level with the ground and only knows how to organize small affairs.

El hombre mediocre is, as its author says, "an essay in psychology and morality;" but he does not aspire, in my opinion, to develop a philosophical system of psychology and morality; or, speaking with more propriety, he develops it in an indirect manner.

He does not aspire to present the picture,

complete, integral, of the factors of the moral sentiment, as was done, for example, by Varona, in his *Fundamento de la moral* (Foundation of Morality), when he presented to us the elements that compose this sentiment, made up of factors of a triple order: the biological, the psychological and the sociological.

He does not explain to us in an express manner the basis of morality, nor do we have set forth in his book a concrete theory regarding such a foundation of the morality or immorality of actions or regarding their internal mechanism. What he does is to describe with strokes of the brush of genius the qualities of the human spirit, going to the very roots.

In forming ideally his type of the mediocre man, he paints him with a master hand. In reading his words, we behold ourselves surrounded by mediocre men and we even feel mediocrity palpitating in our being at some moment of our life. We read and we say: This is so and so; here I have him speaking and bellowing, just as he is. What we read is the truth. It is the grotesqueness of the human kind exposed in nakedness and chastised by the fiery scourge of a superior soul.

In reading his apocalyptic chapters in which he describes vulgarity, routine, calumny, hypocrisy, vanity, avarice, envy—above all, the chapter that refers to the last, inimitable, superb—all qualities of mediocrity, the man who has in his breast a noble sentiment and in his mind an elevated thought recognizes the absolute fidelity of the picture; he comprehends how repugnant such qualities must be to the better part of one's being; and he either strengthens himself in defense against their solicitations or there is engendered in his soul a spark of remorse and a longing for perfection.

On the other hand, when Ingenieros does not describe mediocrity, but treats, on the contrary, of endeavors, capacities, aspirations, worth, the ideal as the true lever that moves humanity, and when he paints all the rungs that must be ascended on the immense ladder that leads to the immeasurable heights of genius, sanity and heroism, who that feels boiling in his soul the ardor of the ideal, does not feel himself

strengthened and stimulated to continue along the road undertaken? There, in those paragraphs, he will find pictured, in words that he perhaps did not think of, his most sacred longings, his most vehement desires and the purest hopes of his moments of highest exaltation, of the moments in which he has advanced most in the way to perfection.

This book is a mirror therefore for many. If it were read by all, perhaps also many would see in all its horror the terrible picture of their moral defects, which other transgressors perchance or a skeptical and misguided society are tolerating in them with benevolent indifference or a smile of approbation.

He who reads *El hombre mediocre* and who has stained his hands and his soul with robbery will see himself pictured as a robber, whether by assaulting travelers or by selling influences or strips from the national dignity, from a position of confidence to which he has been elevated by the suffrage of the tribe.

Thus is therefore completed the subtitle of this work: *Ensayo de psicología y moral*. When he penetrates into the recondite folds of the human brain and into the obscurities of the soul, and paints with the hand of a master the qualities and thoughts of man, the book is a psychological work. When, by virtue of painting them, he scourges evil and points the way to the ideal and the path of virtue, he teaches us to be good, and then it is a work of morality.

Are examples desired that verify what I say regarding the identity between the portrait and the original? It is difficult to comply with such a desire, as it is almost impossible to make selection, and also it is impossible to copy the whole book. You have here, however, reader, to delight your attention while you are not able to read the whole book, some paragraphs that will permit you to judge of the rest.

Do you know what vulgarity is? You remember in your life moments of your own vulgarity, and at every step you stumble upon it in the persons that surround you, do you not? Then read these words, and you will certainly strive never to be guilty of such a fault:

Vulgarity is the blazon of nobility for men proud of their mediocrity; they watch over it as the miser does his treasure. It is their greatest boast to exhibit it, without suspecting it to be their affront. It shows inopportunely in a word or a look, it breaks in a single second the spell prepared through many hours, it crushes under its clay every luminous spark of the spirit. Colorless, deaf, blind, insensible, it surrounds us and lies in wait for us; it delights in the grotesque, lives in tumult, moves in the dark. It is to the spirit what physical defects are to the body: blindness or strabismus; it is an incapacity for thinking and loving, a lack of taste, an incomprehension of the beautiful, a wasting of life, a world of sordidness. Conduct is in itself neither distinguished nor vulgar: the intention ennobles acts, elevates them, idealizes them and, in other cases, it determines their vulgarity. Certain looks, which in ordinary circumstances would be sordid, may become poetic, epic: when Cambronne, invited by the enemy to surrender, responds with his memorable word, he elevates himself to an Homeric plane and he becomes sublime.

The man without ideals makes of art a trade, of science a commerce, of philosophy an instrument, of virtue an enterprise, of charity a feast, of pleasure a sensualism. Vulgarity transforms the love of life into pusillanimity, prudence into cowardice, pride into vanity, respect into servilism. It leads to ostentation, avarice, falsehood, avidity, simulation; back of the mediocre man shows the savage ancestor who conspires in his depths, harassed by the hunger of atavistic instincts and without other aspiration than gluttony.¹⁸

If the one who reads this book has insinuated calumnies, undermined reputations, spoken in the shadow the name of some woman; if he has gone abroad to speak evil of a remote patria; if he has been an instrument of slander, always wicked, cowardly and terrible, who knows what he has done, and he reads these paragraphs, which ought to be cast in bronze and placed in the squares of our cities to see if we can diminish the gross and infamous epidemic of defamation and the mud that seems to have flooded us, with the exaltation of mediocrities through the unhappy means of national politics, let him give heed to the following:

Evil-speakers flourish everywhere: in banquet

¹⁸Pages 69, 70, 71.

halls, clubs, academies, families, professions, pursuing all those who show any degree of originality. They speak in an undertone, with circumspection, persistent in undermining the happiness of others, sowing by handfuls the seed of noxious weeds. Calumny is a serpent that insinuates itself into the conversation of the vile; its vertebrae are proper nouns, articulated by the most equivocal verbs of the dictionary, in order to drag along a body whose scales are frightful qualifiers.

They pour infamy into all transparent goblets, with the serenity of a Borgia; the hands that handle them seem to be those of prestidigitators, dexterous in manner and attractive in form: a smile, a lift of the shoulders, a wrinkling of the brow, as if subscribing to the possibility of evil, even to tarnishing the probity of a man or the honor of a woman. The slanderer, a coward among all those who poison, is sure of impunity: therefore is he contemptible. He does not affirm, but he insinuates; he even goes so far as to deny imputations which no one makes, counting upon the irresponsibility of making them in this form. He lies automatically, as he breathes. He knows how to select what converges toward detraction. He says absently all the evil of which he is not certain, and he conceals with prudence all the good of which he knows. He respects intimate virtues and the secrets of the home, not at all; he injects the drop of venom that shows like an irruption upon his irritated lips until from his whole mouth, turned into a blister, the interlocutor expects to see issue, instead of a tongue, a stiletto.

Without cowardice there is no evil-speaking. He who can shout out an injury face to face, who denounces at times the vice of another, who accepts the risk of his utterances, is not a slanderer. To be one, it is necessary to tremble at the idea of possible punishment and cover one's self with the least suspected of masks. The worst are those who speak evil by praising: they temper their applause with shrugging reserves, more serious than the worst imputations. Such baseness of thought is an insidious manner of practising evil, of accomplishing it powerfully, without the courage of a downright act.

If these chattering basilics possessed any varnish of breeding, they would try to cover their infamy with the ensign of spirituality. A vain hope: they are condemned to seek grace and stumble upon perfidy. Their jest is not a smile; it is a smirk.¹⁹

What hypocrite will not squirm uneasily

in his seat and look around with a sullen and suspicious glance, fearing least he will be discovered, as he reads the following words?

Hypocrisy is the art of gagging dignity; it renders dumb the scruples of minds incapable of resisting the temptation to evil. It is a want of virtue to resist evil and of courage to assume responsibility for it. It is the guano that fertilizes mediocre temperaments, thus permitting them to prosper in falsehood, like those trees whose foliage is more abundant when they grow in the neighborhood of swamps.

It freezes, where it passes, every noble germ of an ideal: it is a cold northeaster to enthusiasm. Men debased by it live without dreams, hiding their intentions, emasculating their sentiments, darting like the lizard. They know of a certainty that their acts are unworthy, shameful, baneful, ruffianly, irredeemable. Hence their morality is insolvent: it always implies a simulation of virtue.²⁰

The sons of those who have become rich through tortuous methods by laying hold of what was another's, whether of other men individually or of other men organized in the form of a political state, may not rightly continue to blazon their origin after they and their fellow-countrymen understand thoroughly the truth involved in these words:

Disguise serves the weak; one only feigns what he thinks he does not possess. The grandchildren of scoundrels speak most of nobility; virtue is wont to grace the lips of the shameless; pride serves as a refrain for the vile; gentleness is the picklock of impostors; temperance figures in the catechism of the vicious. They suppose that with so much tinsel some particle may attach itself to their shadow. In truth, this shadow undergoes change in the constant effort; a mask is beneficial among contemporary mediocrities, although those who use it lack moral standing with men of virtue.²¹

In these countries of ours, where groups or factions of mediocrities, fierce and hungry, get the upper hand, they feel out the leader who is ignorant, voracious, immoral and crafty, and they carry him to the heights of societies hoodwinked by new efforts and the ancient lack of culture, proclaiming him "the practical man," or

²⁰Pages 113, 114.

²¹Page 121.

¹⁹Pages 93, 94, 95.

the "one who suits the environment," in the hope of making sure, according to his hierarchy, either of his part of the booty or that they will cast down his open throat the scraps, this passage that I proceed to copy will always be a descriptive paragraph of remarkable accuracy:

Mediocrity hates the worthy man and adores the lackey. Gil Blas enchants it; he symbolizes the "practical man" who draws something out of every situation, and in every villainy secures advantage. It persecutes Stockman, the enemy of the people, with as much zeal as it expends in admiring Gil Blas: it takes him from the cave of robbers and exalts him to the favorite of courts. Gil Blas is a man of cork: he floats. He has been a highwayman, a pimp, a sneakthief, a loan shark, an assassin, a swindler, a liar, an ingrate, a hypocrite, a traitor, a quack: such varied smirches do not hinder his crawling up to the herd and bestowing smiles from that height. He is perfect of his kind. His secret is simple: he is a domestic animal. He enters the world as a servant and he continues to be servile until death, in all circumstances and situations: he never has a proud look, he never makes a proud gesture, he never attacks an obstacle face to face.²²

From the chapter on envy it would be difficult to choose any paragraph: all is inimitable, magnificent.

When in this book, with the prose of a catapult, he abandons the individual and isolated mediocrity in order to study him banded together with his kind—to use his very words—and he analyzes the mediocral organization in the chapter he entitles *La mediocracia*, we feel that one who springs from the bosom of the deepest depths of our present society is painting with admirable color all the evils and all the stumblings of our incipient democracy, evils and stumblings that some, poorly informed because of their persistence in not reading, consider the exclusive growth of our island and tropical soil.

El hombre mediocre, in this part that pertains rather to sociology than to psychology, may serve as a consolation and a great hope to those who think thus.

Ingenieros writes with an aspiration to speak to man as he is in all parts of the world; and he succeeds in his design in all that is fundamental. The essence

of the book is applicable equally to France and to Uruguay, to Cuba and to Spain; but necessarily he has been led to describe the perspective he had before him; he has had to paint particularly the picture of his country, because for his country also this book was written. Ah! and his country is not Cuba; it is Argentina, the great republic of the Plata, which has had now a hundred years of independent life and which for many years has entered through the open way of her immense progress upon all the orders of life, both in the material and in the intellectual realms, and which has also been now for a long time, not only the object of universal respect and pride on the part of her nationals, but also the pride of all of us who are American Latins, who see in her a clear and powerful mirror of the lie that is involved in the ascription of incapacity which is applied to our peoples, with inexplicable readiness, by Europeans and American Saxons.

The chapters of the book that treat of American psychology are those from which we can derive the greatest benefit. They are also the hardest, the most intractable, the ones that deal with the most independent and advanced ideas, those that are most peculiar to him: the pen that wrote them turned neither backward nor to right or left.

How he must have provoked protests, indignation, excommunications, the fury, the anathemas, of the upholders of dignity in the name of democracy and social morality! What great pleasure, what fullness of satisfaction, must not the author have experienced as he beheld them, in his rear, puny and crushed, overwhelmed at his feet!

Against any who came forth upon him, vociferating like an energumen, that the book was absurd, without originality, a traitor to democracy, an attack upon equality, and that it was aristocratic and monarchical, and a thousand other pleasantries, Ingenieros could have taken the last copy and hurled it in his face, with this simple exclamation: "In spite of all thou sayest, this is copy number 20,000!"²³

²²*El hombre mediocre* consisted, at the beginning, of the lectures delivered by Doctor Ingenieros in the Facultad de Filosofía of the Universidad de Buenos

Here also, señor Ingenieros, in this enchanted island, he who seeks oxygen on the heights, by raising himself above the herd, is hounded by "practical men," who, in order to assassinate him, choose rather the vacuum of indifference and mockery, a more terrible creole weapon than the lightning flash of the *machete*.

This is our kind of mediocrity: what in his book he calls "the country."

Also, however, he among us who aspires to anything lofty and noble, and who devotes his best self to the good of the nation, finds encouragement. A thousand voices stimulate him; the worthy, who are many, although they exist without noise and parade and therefore are heard little of, form a goodly company, and they are ready for the fray, falling in under the banner: they show that the ideal is not dead.

The aspirer and those who follow him rise above the mediocrities and form what is called the "patria."

We Cubans ought not to forget that, after the fatal period in which disorderly passions, without the restraint of moral or conscientious scruples, were let loose upon the country and reached most unbelievable expressions of cynicism and a lack of probity, the Cuban people, from San Antonio to Maisí, formed in close order, charged upon the filthy creatures and planted on high a banner that bore a great, noble and honored motto.

That reaction, whatever may have been its results and however have been fulfilled the promises of the motto, was a great defeat for Cuban mediocrity, and a symptom filled with hope and consolation, of hope and consolation for those who distrusted; but for those who had faith it was only what was very natural, expected and explained in advance.

Aires, course of 1910. In that and the following year they were published, with slight additions and emendations, in *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, and afterward collected in the *Archivos de Psiquiatría y Criminología*, 1911. Rearranged and further corrected, the whole appeared in the series of *Renacimiento*, Madrid, January, 1913, 10,000 copies; with slight corrections, a second edition of 10,000 was published in April, 1913. The *Biblioteca Ariel*, San José de Costa Rica, 1914, and the *Colección Sarmiento*, Barcelona, 1917, reprinted the Introduction as a pamphlet with the title: *La moral de los idealistas*. The third and most complete edition was issued in 1917 by L. J. Rosso y Cía., Buenos Aires.—THE EDITOR.

This felicitous and subtle distinction that Ingenieros makes between the patria and the country fills a want of the soul by resolving the problem of dangerous solidarities.

For the Cuban of worth, the Cuban patria is composed of all the works of her great writers, the poems of her bards, the discoveries of her scientists, the sufferings of her martyrs, the achievements of her warriors, the common aspirations for collective improvement, the customs of her forefathers, the wholesome energies of her industry, her commerce, her professions; the actuation of her worthy governments made up of his honored fellow-countrymen, and, like him, also worthy: all this as it grows and develops in the setting of his native land.

The activities of rascals, however, the lawless politics of hungry mediocrities, the scandalous factions of ignoramuses and scoundrels, the rulers who reach high positions and sell the dignity of the country to any comer in the name of "business," those who traffic for gain in the assemblies of the law, the climbers and crawlers of the groups called political parties, the army of flatterers that lick the feet of foreigners in order to obtain a crumb or gain favor and perhaps a merited insult; the actuation of hypocrites who proclaim their love for the patria and who have no other patria than a stomach distended by too much to digest; of tyrants disguised as democrats; of exploiting foreigners who, after exploiting, despise: all this and much more has existence and a place in the national territory; but the worthy and noble Cuban has no fellowship in his soul with all this, and he despises and condemns it much more than if he were of a foreign country.

All this goes to make up the country; but the patria, never.

This part of the book of Ingenieros has not a wasted word. It must be read through in order to comprehend it fully and completely.

Standing face to face with a certain recent period of our republican life, examining the actuation of the parties of to-day, the conduct of the assemblies that must create the national, provincial and municipal laws, who, with his hand upon

a sincere heart, would not subscribe to the following words?

Sometimes the nation falls asleep in the lap of the country. The organism vegetates; the spirit becomes drowsy. Appetites give chase to ideals, becoming dominating and aggressive. There are no stars above the horizon, no oriflammes upon the belfries. No clamor of the people is heard; there resounds no echo of great animating voices. All crowd about the official table-cloth to obtain some crumb from the repast. It is the climate of mediocrity. States become mediocrities.

Into the penumbra passes every idealistic, intellectual, esthetic tendency: the worship of truth, eagerness for admiration, faith in firm beliefs, the exaltation of ideals, loyalty, pride, originality, disinterestedness, abnegation, all that is in the path of virtue and holiness, of talent and genius, of dignity and heroism. To the same utilitarian diapason all spirits are tuned. People speak in proverbs, as Panza discoursed; they believe according to catechisms, as Tartuffe preached; they live by experience, as taught Gil Blas²⁴.

When we recall those tumultuous outpourings of the ignorant masses, in what are misnamed political manifestations, to the cry of "Long live the people!" carried away by their stupid and self-defeating eagerness to exalt the worst elements, believing that thus, by not elevating themselves, but by pulling down those who are above, there will then be a common level—the level of the swamp—we can understand the truth of this paragraph:

There are political mediocrities at all times and under all régimes; but they find a better climate among bourgeoisies without ideals. Where all believe they can speak, the wise keep silent: mediocrity prefers to listen to the most arrant humbugs. When the ignoramus believes himself equal to the studious, the scoundrel to the apostle, the spellbinder to the orator and the sneak to the man of worth, the scale of merit disappears in the opprobrious levelment of villainy. This is mediocrity: all try to speak and they believe they say what they think, although every one can only repeat sectarian dogmas or predict oligarchical greed. This moral flatnosedness is more serious than habituation to tyranny; none can fly where all crawl. They agree to call hypocrisy urbanity, mannerisms distinction, timidity culture, complicity tolerance: the lie furnishes these equivo-

cal terms. Those who lie thus are the enemies of themselves and of the patria; they dishonor by a lie their parents and their children, and they destroy the common dignity.²⁵

The insane frenzy of those who get into the government or the legislature without money in their pockets, sentiment in their souls, ideas in their heads or scruples in their consciences, with which we are unfortunately only too well acquainted already, is described in a masterly way:

In these parentheses of stupidity, mediocrities venture by ignoble paths. The mania for accumulating material treasures, and the stupid eagerness to squander them upon amusements blots from the collective spirit all trace of dreams. Countries cease to be patrias. Every ideal agonizes or dies; genius or worth falls into disrepute. Philosophers, men of learning and artists are superfluous: the heaviness of the atmosphere weighs down their wings and they cease to fly. Their presence interferes with the barterers and the Jews, with all those who work for gain, the slaves of hoarding or of avarice. The things of the spirit are despised. The climate not being propitious for them, the cultivators of them are rare. They are unable to disturb the mediocrities; they are proscribed within the country, which slays at a slow fire its ideals, without needing to banish them. Every man becomes a prisoner among a thousand shadows that surround and paralyze him.²⁶

In the division or section that he entitles *La política de las piaras* (The Politics of the Herds), he holds up the mirror with exactitude and he chastises with words at white heat the organization of politics in our democracies, in which it dominates everything, from intrigue and unwholesome influence to the violent imposition of governments: everything, everything, except true democracy, which under the sway of such politics is always inevitably an iniquitous farce.

We, who are accustomed to see in every electoral campaign the inevitable embrace, bestowed publicly and theatrically, by the political campaigner, upon the ragged and ill-smelling representative of the social dregs—the embrace being all the more efficacious in proportion as the person embraced be more ragged and more

²⁵Page 237.

²⁶Page 238.

ill-smelling, and particularly if the latter be a negro—comprehend that this embrace is nothing more than adulation, perhaps a little baser than that which was and is offered to sovereigns and potentates, as Ingenieros says admirably in these words worthy of inscription:

Not only are kings and potentates flattered. He who fawns upon the public is no less foul. In societies of mediocrities, there always exists a base eagerness for popularity more degrading than servilism. To gain the quantitative favor of lackeys, they are lied to under cover of praises parading as an ideal: more cowardly because they are addressed to the mob that can not detect the fraud. To flatter the ignorant and win their applause by talking to them interminably about their rights and never of their duties is the final renunciation of one's own dignity.²⁷

El hombre mediocre is a book that looks toward the future: it is a strong book, from a brain strong and young. It closes with a hymn of hope, or rather of conviction of the greatness of America's destiny, by evoking in its last chapter, which deals with *Los forjadores de ideales* (The Fashioners of Ideals)—very beautiful and invigorating—two summits of American thought: Sarmiento "the pragmatic genius," and Ameghino,²⁸ "the revealing genius."

After penetrating and sounding the very depths of mediocrity, what comfort, what beautiful and intense satisfaction, must have been produced in the mind of the saddened author by the evocation of these two great men whom he selects as the archetypes of the "fashioners of ideals"!

Also the reader experiences, as he finishes

the book satisfied, a sense of strength, a consciousness of being better comprehended by his own mind, of possessing more oxygen in his lungs, more tenacity in his resolve for goodness.

Naturally I dissent from some of the ideas presented in this book. Above all, I dissent from the generality and the definitive character seemingly stamped upon the inculcation of democracy for the defects from which it suffers, which I consider to be passing and susceptible of slow improvement, in agreement with the words of Plato, cited by Ingenieros himself, that "democracy is the best of bad governments," inasmuch as there has not been, according to my judgment, conceived by men a formula that may be said to be the constant generator of good governments.

I should be highly pleased to make a prolonged and detailed criticism of this work; but I should have to begin, as I said at the commencement of this paper, by placing myself upon a level with the author and by consuming in the preparation of my criticism the number of years that would approach that which probably he must have employed in conceiving his work.

To do this is, for a thousand reasons that the intelligent reader will comprehend, beyond the reach of the powers at my command.

I content myself therefore with leaving in the pages of *Cuba Contemporánea* the evidence of this personal opinion of mine regarding this surpassing book, which will always be a monument of American thought, and of my vehement desire that it may be read and understood by my compatriots, and that the strong, true and excellent moral teachings which inform it may be utilized.

²⁷Page 251.

²⁸See INTER-AMERICA for December, 1917, page 94, column 2, note 2.—THE EDITOR.



INTERNATIONAL RECIPROCITY AS RELATED TO CABOTAGE A PROBLEM OF THE MOMENT

BY

LIBERTAD ERSTEAD

1. The reciprocity of Argentine-Paraguayan cabotage.—2. Our law number 7049 and the national constitution; the treaties and Argentine tradition.—3. The acts of man and economic laws.—4. Protectionism and cabotage. Why we ought to nationalize our coastwise trade.—5. The liberalism of the señor Pillado and his project of national cabotage.—6. The example of other countries. Let us return to free cabotage.—7. Reciprocity in the Pillado bill and in the law. The regulations of the law of cabotage. The laws of Paraguayan, Uruguayan, Brazilian and Chilean cabotage.—8. Divers decisions of the department of commerce and industry.—9. Analysis of article one of law 7049. Parliamentary antecedents.—10. Conclusions.

1. The interest and enthusiasm worthy of all praise, with which our consul-general in Asunción, don Ricardo L. Acuña, has taken up his task of developing the trade relations that unite our country with Paraguay by facilitating in every way, by means of the most liberal commercial policy possible, interchange between the two countries, has revived the discussion that had already begun with the consideration of the present law of cabotage, regarding the interpretation of its article number one, which treats of international reciprocity in relation to cabotage.

Indeed, our consular representative, in response to the just demands of an Argentine-Paraguayan commercial interchange, and with the laudable design of facilitating cabotage navigation between the citizens of the two countries, addressed himself to our government, in confidential note number 95, under date of September 4, 1917, setting forth and tracing in clear form a whole program for strengthening our commercial relations with Paraguay, in which, and as an important chapter, is set forth the necessity of making effective the reciprocity of the law of cabotage between the two countries.

He said with much truth, on page 18 of the memorandum referred to, that

the equipped ports, the establishments and the *estancias*¹ themselves do not prosper so

much as might be desired, nor does their commerce increase, because of this isolation in which they are kept with regard to each other, by the almost complete lack of transport service, developed within our territory only, by the great Argentine navigation companies, whose boats, in the main under the national flag, can not serve in this interchange, which ought to be very active, between the Argentine cities and the very numerous ones of the Paraguayan coast, nor stop at the secondary ports to take on small packages of freight and one or two passengers. *The inhabitants of those regions behold sadly how these steamers pass constantly, ascending and descending the rivers, without stopping at their ports.*

It is inconceivable that two sister countries should carry the extremes of the protection of national cabotage to the point of letting pass, as if they were enemies, the vessels of a country with which each of them could never be on more friendly terms.

There is a mutual interest in having this commerce carried on under the two flags, without distinctions or limitations, which always cool the traditional good relations, and prejudices commercial interchange between them.

It is proper to recall here, although only in passing, the different interventions of the department of commerce and industry in these affairs, with a view to ascertaining its opinions in this respect, since it is the adviser of the ministry of agriculture, regarding the question of cabotage.

2. The present law of cabotage navigation and commerce number 7049, dated

¹Used in southern South America for the Castilian *hacienda*, country estate, with its equipment of buildings, etc.—THE EDITOR.

August 22, 1910, was designed to restrict this commerce to vessels under the national flag, thus modifying completely the disposition established in article 441 of the custom-house regulations of the year 1866, which granted the carrying on of coastwise trade to vessels of all flags and of any tonnage: a regulation inspired by the traditional liberal policy almost instinctive with Americans, and incorporated in article 26 of our national constitution, which conceded

the free navigation of the interior rivers of the nation to all flags, subject merely to the rules adopted by the national authorities.

So also a clause has been adopted covering the free navigation of interior rivers in the majority of international treaties to which we have subscribed.

It is impossible to understand what advantages the nation can secure by restricting the cabotage trade exclusively to its citizens—except in the case of reciprocity, as we shall see further on—the only national activity of importance that had succeeded in avoiding the disease of protectionism, which, with its exaggerated patriotism and false show of national development, prostitutes the best efforts and develops stupendous privileges and monopolies, against which the whole population struggles in vain.

3. It is high time for our public men to learn that economic phenomena are not to be regulated or managed at the caprice of men nor under the dominion of the artificial laws which it may dictate; but that they obey economic laws that have their origin in the very process which subsists in the natural relations between mankind.

However much we claim to possess a national cabotage, we do not secure it by decreeing in the law that such vessels ought to carry the Argentine flag, belong to Argentine citizens, with Argentine captains, and that a third part of the crews shall be of Argentine nationality. These are inconsistencies in a liberal country like ours, where the larger part of the cabotage is in the hands of foreigners; not because they have gained possession of this traffic by virtue of some privilege, but

because they have been more apt and more enterprising and progressive. Why shall we compel them to become nationalized and carry at the mast-head of their vessels the pure banner of liberty and justice?

The use of our flag, like that of any country, may not be forced; it constitutes a great honor for those who welcome it, and I think no Argentine patriot will behold with joyous eyes that vessels are compelled to use our fraternal device, which imposes nothing and which generously opens the bosom of its land to all men of good will who are minded to come to people it.

Let us not center our attention upon what the rest do, since this preoccupation causes us to vitiate what is most sacred in our fundamental charter, and to drag down that progressive liberalism which animated the thoughts of our great patriots, and to which we owe all our progress, and it drives us to close our country against the effective activity of the foreigners who come to pour out their energy and their ability, as if this were bad and were not good for the country.

4. If to-day we have been able to measure the disaster that our protectionism has unfortunately brought upon the country, in the affair of wine, sugar, footwear and other products, why insist now upon applying this madness to cabotage navigation? What is more charming than to hear upon our rivers the joyful Venetian sonatas and the plaintive songs of the Genoese, the owners of those picturesque boats that seem to be a prolongation of the fertile land of Italy? What more delightful than to listen to the sentimental airs of the Paraguayan sailors or the amorous couplets of the joyful Spaniards? Also there are bicolored and tricolored flags; and men of divers nationalities who cause a wholesome competition in the cabotage commerce, which develops them and at the same time benefits the nation. All this is good; not only does it not work harm to the country, but it tends to invigorate the Argentine stock by assimilation of the good that comes from others and the rejection of the evil.

Why should we attempt to do to the commerce of our rivers what we do not

do to the land commerce? Do we, by chance, compel merchants on land to become nationalized or to take positions with Argentines? We only require that they shall comply with and respect our national laws; and nothing ought to lead us to proceed in another manner with merchants upon our rivers. It is sufficient that they observe the Argentine legal prescriptions, equal for all, in order to satisfy the just requirements and the national interests.

It is truly to be lamented that this law of cabotage about which we have been speaking was projected by the señor Ricardo Pillado, then director general of commerce and industry, who was a student of marked liberal tendencies and one of the men who has sustained with most tenacity in our country the free trade ideas of the Manchester school. Those of us who have devoted all our energies to the defense of liberty and justice, whatever be their forms, and who desire sincerely that progressive statesmen, with new ideas, shall occupy the directive positions of the nation, who are anxious to see prevailing in the country a liberal policy that will include without distinctions all the peoples of the earth, assuring them by ample treaties of peace and commerce, the benefits that the most of them reserve exclusively for their own children, have suffered a great disillusionment at beholding that a man as liberal as the señor Pillado has forgotten the very essence of the equality and humanity that animates our ideals.

6. I know that all countries have reserved their cabotage trade for their own subjects, more or less exclusively; but this can not constitute an argument in favor of the thesis which I combat, when prior to it, and first of all, comes the Argentine liberal tradition; which I consider as the noblest title to glory and superiority of which we Argentines may boast.

Let us annul a bad law like number 7049, and let us cause our cabotage to continue to be free to the competition of all the vessels of the world, which, respecting our laws, shall devote themselves to plowing our rivers, under the same conditions as the Argentine.

In the meanwhile, we have for our study a problem that demands urgent solution, and it is that of the reciprocity of cabotage with Paraguay, solicited by our consul-general in Asunción.

7. The Argentine congress converted the Pillado bill into a law, with certain modifications, but, in what refers to reciprocity of cabotage, article fourteen of the bill mentioned, which covers this point, was very different from article one of law 7049. In fact, the article fourteen mentioned said:

when the executive considers it best for the interests of the national commerce, he may grant the exemptions of the foregoing article to the coastwise vessels of the border republics, *on condition of strict reciprocity*;

while article one of law number 7049 is couched in these terms:

cabotage navigation and commerce between the ports of the republic are reserved for vessels under the national flag, *except in the case of reciprocity with the riparian nations*.

The law is more liberal than the bill, because it concedes cabotage freely to all the riparian nations, without limitations of any kind, whenever they reciprocally admit Argentine vessels to their cabotage, while, according to the Pillado bill, these privileges are granted upon the basis of *strict reciprocity*, which means, that if the bordering nation can not offer us a navigable distance of more than a hundred kilometres, for instance, the republic would not open all its rivers and in all their course to the vessels of that country, but only for a similar distance. This reestablishes then the utilitarian formula of the Romans: *Do ut des* (I give that thou mayest give). It is well not to forget these antecedents, as they reasonably explain to us the opinions expressed by the department of commerce and industry in its different decisions.

Under date of October 1, 1910, the señor Ezequiel Ramos Mexía, the minister of agriculture at that time, appointed for the drawing up of the law referred to a commission headed by the señor Pillado. It was composed, besides, of the señores Doctor Ernesto Weigel Muñoz, Pedro Mihanovich, Doctor Pedro Mohorade and Antonio

M. Delfino. So that the law and regulations have followed the suggestions of the director general of commerce and industry of that time, and it is interesting really to know their purposes, in the practical cases that might arise, in order definitely to appreciate their thought regarding the question of coastwise policy.

On the other hand, Uruguay, under date of January 9, 1912, adopted her law of cabotage based upon ours, with a few divergencies. In its article six, it establishes reciprocity upon the following terms:

The concession to ships under a foreign flag of the immunities that are granted by the present law to the marine of national cabotage may be effected only by means of the celebration of treaties of reciprocity with the riparian nations which desire this privilege for their vessels.

Under date of September 29, 1914, there was dictated in Paraguay the law of cabotage, modeled upon the Argentine law number 7049, and which, like it, establishes in its article one the international reciprocity of cabotage.

Chile adopted, under date of August 27, 1917, its law of merchant marine, after a political discussion of more than twenty years. It provides, in its article six, that:

The president of the republic shall have the power to grant, on the basis of reciprocity, the right to exercise cabotage along the coasts of the republic to vessels of the other South American nations that concede the same privilege to Chilean ships.

Brazil, by its law of cabotage number 123, of November 11, 1892, established in article one, that:

the navigation of cabotage may be carried on only by national vessels,

reciprocity being treated of in article six, in the following terms:

The vessels of bordering nations may navigate the interior rivers and waters upon the terms and with the restrictions provided in the conventions and treaties.

So therefore only the Paraguayan and Argentine laws of cabotage offer without restrictions to open their rivers to the cabotage commerce and navigation of the riparian countries, whenever these countries reciprocally permit Paraguayan and

Argentine vessels also to exercise cabotage upon their rivers. The Uruguayan, Brazilian and Chilean laws grant these privileges by virtue of the celebration of conventions or treaties upon the basis of reciprocity. This means that in the Argentine and Paraguayan laws the word "reciprocity" is employed in the sense of "simple exchange." For example: If you grant upon your rivers cabotage to my vessels, equally I will let your vessels exercise cabotage upon my rivers. On the other hand, in the Uruguayan, Brazilian and Chilean laws, the word "reciprocity" is used in the sense of an "equivalence of benefits." For example: If your nation opens up cabotage to our vessels on such and such a river and under such and such conditions, we will grant you the same privileges, proportionate to those you offer us.

There exists a fundamental difference between the two groups of laws, which it is well to bear in mind, all the more in the present case, in which it is attempted to put into practice between our country and Paraguay the extensive cabotage stipulated in the laws of both countries upon the subject.

8. From the year 1896, there have been presented to the public authorities endless complaints in respect of our cabotage, arising sometimes from difficulties growing out of the excessive regulations, and at others from the obstructions offered by the bordering countries because of their legal provisions; but it was mainly with the adoption of law 7049 that there began to spring up the heated questions occasioned by the provisions of the laws that rigidly reserved for their respective countries the commerce and navigation of cabotage. These conflicts gave rise to a series of official pronouncements upon the point in question, and with which we are to occupy ourselves immediately.

Under date of March 22, 1915, the department of commerce and industry made known, in a measure instituted by the most excellent government of Paraguay, in which it proposed international reciprocity for the cabotage trade, counseling that there should be borne in mind, before accepting without limitations the reci-

procuity of cabotage, the inequalities in commercial importance that existed between the rivers which the two countries offered to coastwise trade. The señor Pillado, the maker of this report, persisted therefore in his design of protection and nationalism, which he expressed in his bill of cabotage, and which law 7049 did not accept when it established ample reciprocity. He said on that occasion:

The reciprocity which the law has established, if it is true that it ought to be interpreted in the strict sense of *Do ut des*, ought to fix the precise terms in respect of the zones of navigation that might be conceded with mutual advantage.

If the law did not do it, however, it was precisely because it rejected the idea and accepted a more equalitarian attitude, without taking into account, or letting itself be dominated by, that utilitarianism which is manifest in nearly all the laws of cabotage. He adds, later:

The reciprocity which has been established in the regulations of the law of cabotage (article forty-five) is restricted to the custom-house exemptions that have as their purpose to facilitate and to make less burdensome the movement and transportation of merchandise and produce, with a sole view to serving the public interests of trade, to which ought to be granted all possible freedom, *for the carrying on of commerce*, that is to say, the business of transportation between Argentine ports *has not been considered in these regulations*.

To what end? The law was ample, and it offered, in its article one, to the riparian nations reciprocity in navigation and cabotage commerce. Who could have restricted the thought of our parliament? "*Lex non distingue, non distinguere debemus.*" The law does not make a distinction between navigation and commerce, on the one hand, and custom-house and traffic formalities do not, on the other; therefore we may not make a distinction between them either. Now the reason of all this is to be found in the fact that the señor Pillado was the author of the regulations, and in them he undertook to introduce, although it should be in part, the principle of "strict reciprocity," which he had set forth in article fourteen of his bill. Therefore, always swayed by his nationalistic pre-

occupation, he concluded his opinion, after announcing these considerations, by advising that it be settled upon the following terms:

(1) What ought to be granted to Paraguay in return for what she offers to our cabotage trade; (2) that his excellency, the señor minister of Paraguay shall express his thought in that which has to do with the interpretation of the word "reciprocity" in the law recently adopted.

As may be seen, he insists that we should be specific as to what ought to be conceded to Paraguay, a thing that is determined with complete clearness in the law, which grants cabotage without limitation to the riparian countries, whenever they concede it equally to Argentine vessels; and, besides, he requires an interpretation on the part of the Paraguayan representative of the word "reciprocity," which can be no other than that which we have attributed to it above, that is, of a "simple exchange," and not, as the renderer of the report claims, of "equivalence of benefits." This problem of cardinal importance for the cabotage of our country, as likewise for that of Paraguay, stands without being definitely solved.

At the end of September, 1916, the señor Pillado availed himself of his privilege of retirement from office, with emoluments, and there is now at the head of the department of commerce and industry the assistant director, Doctor Javier Padilla, a protectionist of marked nationalistic tendencies, whose name constitutes a complete guaranty for the industrials who are figuring upon his advancement in official favor, and whose lot it was to take action in these affairs under date of December 19, 1916, by his rendering of a decision in the measure letter R, number 7070, initiated in the ministry of foreign relations in 1915 by several national outfitters who solicited the assistance of the general government in order to avoid the difficulties created by the law of cabotage existing in the republic of Paraguay. On that occasion, the director mentioned continued the policy begun by his predecessor. He summed up his opinions in the following manner:

(1) That these continued claims could be

avoided with relative facility, if the republics of Paraguay and Argentina, making use of the authority conferred in article one of their respective laws, were to decide to grant reciprocity of cabotage navigation and commerce of the Paraguay, Paraná and Pilcomayo rivers.

It is easy to note that reciprocity of cabotage, according to the idea of the señor Pillado, was much more restricted than it was as presented by Doctor Padilla, in spite of the latter's being a protectionist; nevertheless, he established a bad precedent in limiting, although it were to the Paraguay, Paraná and Pilcomayo rivers, the privileges afforded by cabotage.

However, this does not appear to have been the last word of the department of commerce and industry upon the subject, since, under date of May 5, 1917, in the measure letter R, number 1632, initiated by our diplomatic representative in Asunción, who suggested the advantage of celebrating with that nation

a special treaty by virtue of which the two countries would authorize the establishment of coastwise trade under equal conditions, upon the rivers of common jurisdiction,

it decided in a restrictive sense regarding the clause on reciprocity contained in the laws of cabotage of the two countries, in an opinion which it synthesized in these words:

It would be well that the concession should be granted, whenever the republic of Paraguay shall offer corresponding benefits *upon the rivers of common jurisdiction*, for a term that may be agreed upon between the two countries, the right being reserved to terminate its effects, provided notice of such intent be given three months in advance.

According to this new opinion, we have returned to the utilitarian interpretation that the ex-director señor Pillado would give to cabotage, after a slight leaning toward a more liberal tendency which the present director, Doctor Padilla, seemed to desire to apply to it. Nevertheless, it ought to be recognized that the archives of that department must have influenced the present director, to the point of rendering obvious in his views not only repetitions of arguments presented by the former director, but also

transcriptions of his ideas, as if they were those of the subscriber.

It is not strange therefore, in this realm of ideas, that in the recent report which the department of commerce and industry presented to the ministry of agriculture, under date of March 5 of the current year, in completion of the consultation held in September, 1917, by our consul-general at Asunción, and which gave rise to this study, it should repeat its previous report, insisting upon the necessity that existed for granting cabotage to the riparian nations upon absolute equality of terms, and with reciprocal concessions of benefits, their opinion being summed up in the following words:

Regarding this point (of making effective the reciprocity of the law of cabotage between the two countries) I have the honor to inclose a copy of the report presented to the consideration by your excellency, under date of March 5, 1917, in which this directory general expressed its opinion regarding the effecting of a special convention in which the two countries would be empowered to *establish cabotage commerce upon an equality of terms along the rivers of common jurisdiction*.

In this state of things and in the presence of official opinions contradictory to the spirit and the letter of the law, it is proper to study article one of our law of cabotage 7049, which corresponds to article one of the Paraguayan law of cabotage.

9. Article one of the law of cabotage number 7049 says textually:

The navigation and commerce of cabotage between the ports of the republic are restricted to vessels under the national flag, except in the case of the reciprocity of the riparian nations.

For our better analysis, we shall divide this article into three parts, those in italics in the text, and which are: first, cabotage navigation and commerce; second, restricted to vessels under the national flag; and, third, except in the case of the reciprocity of the riparian nations.

The first part of the article indicated speaks clearly of full cabotage trade and navigation, without limiting the applications of the law merely to custom-house or fiscal regulations or those of the maritime police, but it legislates upon everything relating to cabotage. It is well to bear

this in mind, because the commission appointed to draw up this law worded article forty-five in such a way that reciprocity is made to refer only to custom-house and fiscal affairs, but not to coastwise trade and navigation, which is reserved exclusively for vessels under the national flag, as was pointed out by one of the members of this commission in the report that we transcribed in the preceding paragraph. The law, however, is ample, and it does not limit its scope in any manner whatsoever. How have the regulations been able legally to limit the thought of the legislator? Article forty-five of the regulations ought to be interpreted liberally, like the law that it undertook to regulate: otherwise it is void.

The second part of the article on which we are commenting declares that the commerce and navigation of which it speaks in its first part is restricted exclusively to vessels under the national flag, which, in compliance with article two of the regulative decree, are so considered when they satisfy the following conditions: (1) that they use the national ensign and be inscribed in the register; (2) that they be commanded by Argentine captains or masters, native or naturalized; (3) that not less than a third part of their crews shall be citizens, when their burden shall be 200 tons or more, and the numbers that shall be determined by the executive power, when their tonnage shall be less than this figure; (4) that they shall have a national title of ownership recorded in the respective register. It is proper to recall here that the cabotage commerce bill, transmitted to the honorable congress by the ex-minister of *hacienda*, Doctor Francisco J. Oliver, dated September 26, 1916, limited these requirements in its article three, exacting only: (1) that they should be inscribed in the register; (2) that they should be commanded by native or naturalized captains or masters; (3) that they should have in their crews not less than a fourth of native Argentine citizens, when their tonnage should be 200 or more tons.

Finally, the third part of the article we are studying establishes that this commerce and navigation of cabotage restricted to vessels under the national

flag shall be made to extend to those riparian countries that reciprocally open their cabotage to Argentine vessels. The article is drawn up clearly, and there can never be such an interpretation of the expression "riparian nations" as shall signify that cabotage will be granted only upon rivers in which both countries possess coastal rights, but that it is used in the sense that it will grant cabotage to all the countries riparian with ours, such as Uruguay, Brazil and Paraguay. The article does not speak therefore of any equality of benefits or of a concession of reciprocity only upon rivers of joint jurisdiction, but it states clearly that it will concede to the vessels of the riparian nations the navigation and commerce of cabotage, whenever they concede to Argentine vessels the same privilege; and nothing more.

When discussing this article in the *Cámara de Diputados*, the señor L. García made the following assertions:

Confusion exists generally, and from the misunderstanding there arise grave consequences for our navigation. The Oriental republic,² Paraguay and Brazil are called riparian, because they have banks in common with us upon our rivers, but from this it may not be deduced that the Oriental republic, for example, enjoys the benefits of reciprocity upon the Paraná, the most commercial and the most navigable and exclusively Argentine river, without having a stream of equal qualities and exclusively her own to offer us in exchange. This error, so prejudicial to our commerce and our shipping interests, has been for many years established by facts and by a treaty upon practice with Uruguay. On the other hand, Paraguay, which can offer us a river of her own above Asunción, can ask for reciprocity upon the Paraná, which she absolutely requires for her foreign commerce, and respectively with the other riparian nations, which are in the same relative conditions.

The informant member of the commission, Deputy Doctor Carlos Saavedra Lamas, replied:

The commission has desired to give elasticity to the law by rendering it possible that, by means of conventions which the public authorities

²Uruguay; see INTER-AMERICA for December, 1917, page 115, footnote.—THE EDITOR.

may make according to their judgment in relation to each case under different circumstances, reciprocity may be established sometimes under circumstances that can not be foreseen.

So there is clearly revealed a lack of a thoroughly matured opinion upon this subject, and in this case the members of the commission have not wished to oppose each other by limiting the concession of reciprocity to the riparian nations; and they have accepted the ample clause contained in the law. The commission has never accepted the doctrine of the deputy García, but it has simply declared with frankness that it left the study of it free to the judgment of the executive in order that with greater knowledge he might advise as opportunity offered what would be most appropriate.

A discussion of the law of cabotage upon this point could not be more fruitless, and it reveals on the part of our representatives a limited preparation and knowledge upon the vital problems confided to them.

The interpretation that the directory of commerce and industry would give to the clause of reciprocity contained in law 7049 can not be based then upon the law, the regulations, the debates, the letter and spirit of our fundamental charter or Argentine tradition.

10. In the course of this study, we have tried to emphasize the advantage that

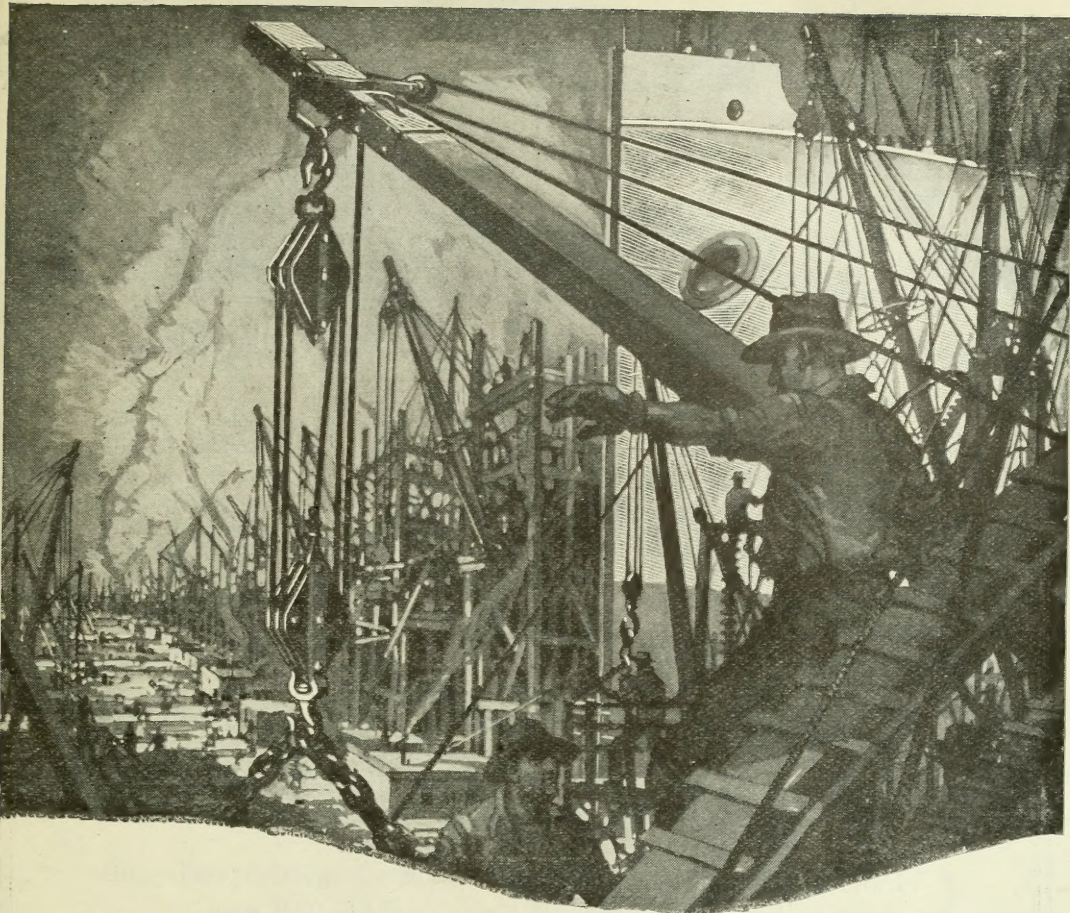
exists in opening our rivers to all vessels, whatever their flags, and merely restricting them by the proper legislation that ought to be enacted for such a purpose. It is urgent to abrogate the present law of cabotage, both because it restricts to national vessels the cabotage trade, thus conspiring against our own interests and our coastwise trade, which are in need of abundant means of cheap transportation, and because it awakens a dislike and alienation between bordering countries that ought to be removed.

In the meanwhile, however, until it be possible to overthrow this law, we must give heed at the present time to the reiterated requests and suggestions made to us by Paraguay, with a view to carrying into effect by both parties the reciprocity contained in article one of the laws of cabotage of the two countries.

I think the opportunity has arrived for our government to give a proof of American friendship and confraternity by decreeing the full reciprocity of Argentine cabotage for Paraguayan craft.

Above the doubtful interests of a few merchants of our shores, who make a show of patriotism, stand the unmistakable interests of the nation and the indispensable needs of the riparian cities, which have never been in a worse condition than that in which they are at the present moment.





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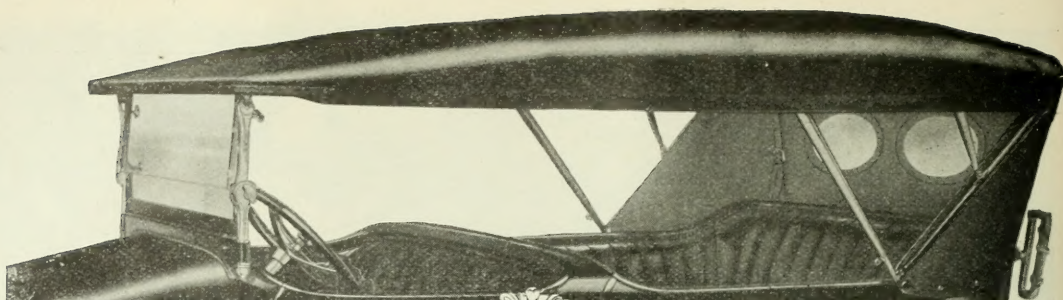
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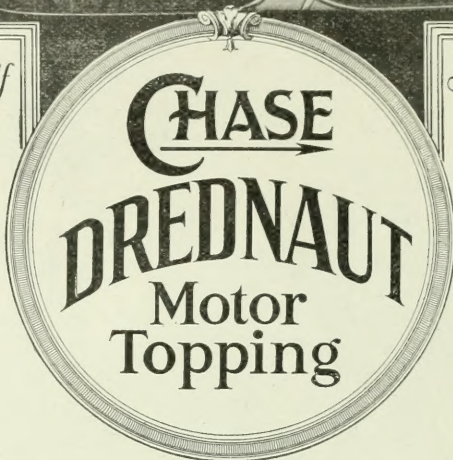
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The publications thus far issued by the Hispanic Society comprise about one hundred titles. Among the more important works included in this list, exclusive of those the editions of which are exhausted, is the authoritative Spanish edition of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. It is planned to complete the work in seven volumes, the first three of which are now in readiness.

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Publications of literary criticism, as those of Ramon Menendez Pidal and James Fitzmaurice-Kelley.

The *Revue Hispanique*, devoted to a study of the languages, the literature and the history of the Castilian, Catalán, and Portuguese countries,—six issues annually.

The *Bibliographie Hispanique*, an annual catalogue of books and articles of importance in the Hispanic field.

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